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ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

MIAN GOVERDHAN SINGH

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FOREWORD

This is the first comprehensive volume to appear on the Art and Architecture of Himachal Pradesh, and it includes sections on Hindu and Buddhist Architecture in the Western Himalaya, sculpture, bronzes, woodcarving, Pahari painting and Chamba rumals. It contains also an extensive and invaluable bibliography and an equally invaluable list of temples, the most complete so far undertaken, the author having obtained the name, location and style of each shrine from the relevant district officers stationed throughout the state. This is an achievement which no single person could realize in a lifetime, owing to the slowness and uncertainty of travel in these vast mountains, and the fact that many of the temples are still inaccessible by jeep, and to reach them entails a walk of a day or more from the nearest bus stop.

The author, Dewan Goverdhan Singh, must surely be among the most competent and inspiring librarians not only in India, but in the world. I once went to the Secretariat library (the first of many times) to read "An Account of Koonawar", by the Brothers Gerard, and said casually that if there were any other books written in English on this district I would like to have a look at them. Within ten minutes of my sitting down, a large table was laden with twenty to thirty books comprising everything that had ever been written in English on Koonawar (now called Kinnaur).

It is a well established fact that whenever the Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh, or a lesser official, has to go to a remote village to make a speech, his Secretary rings up the librarian to ask for information. In due course the Minister arrives at the library and there he finds a number of books on a table all open at the relevant pages so that he can get both background material and local colour for his speech.

By such a dedicated person as Dewan Goverdhan Singh, tied to his exacting labours at the great Secretariat library, field work cannot often be undertaken. But the value of the present book lies in the fact that he has gathered together most of the information at present available on the Art and Archaeology of Himachal Pradesh, collated it, and presented it in a readable form to students of the cultural traditions of this, the most remote and bewitching of Indian States.

—PENELOPE CHETWODE

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PREFACE

Himachal, the Dev Bhumi as known to the ancients, lies in the heart of the Western Himalayas. It is a land of fascination and mystery and its centuries old culture rightly commands deep interest and respect. In itself the region may seem insignificant, thinly populated and located in one of the most interior regions of the Western Himalayas between the Indian Plains and Kashmir. Nevertheless in the hills and valleys it evolved an unique complex of art and culture made up of many strains both native and foreign in which indigenous religion and beliefs predominate. On the one hand Himachal Pradesh maintained ancient indigenous traditions and on the other it adopted with great fidelity the highly developed cultural influence from the Indian plains and semi-cultural inflow from the north and north east. The inherited and imported elements made an amalgam which gave Himachal Pradesh a distinctive character.

Very little has been written on the art, architecture and culture of Himachal Pradesh, notwithstanding a few writings specialised and others general. Most of these writings stress the art and cultural influences from the North Indian plains and pay little attention to the details of the indigenous creativeness and northern inflows.

I have, therefore, deliberately written this book in a way which, I hope, would clarify many questions that have not been attempted so far.

This is not intended to be a scholarly work. I am sure, there are many who can do it far better than I, but it is meant for the general readers who want to enlarge their knowledge about the art and architecture of Himachal Pradesh in its entirety.

This book is divided into three parts. The first is devoted to the indigenous art which is peculiar to the land, while the second deals with the art and cultural traits brought from time to time by the people from the Indian plains, and the third part covers the Tibetan cultural influences that flowed in from the seventh century onward from the north and north east.

Since Himachal Pradesh mostly remained unaffected by the foreign invasions, it affords a wonderful opportunity to study the history, development and style of different facets of art and architecture that flourished here since time immemorial.

—Mian Goverdhan Singh

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Acknowledgement

In the course of writing this book, I have consulted several books and articles written by many scholars on this part of the Himalaya. I acknowledge with gratitude that I have liberally used their material with the idea that knowledge is for propagation. All these books and articles have been enumerated in the bibliography given at the end of the book.

In writing this book I was greatly benefited by generous advice and help rendered by Lady Penelope Chetwode. She not only took my manuscript to England in October, 1978 and edited it there, but also wrote a foreword and gave me liberally many rare and valuable photographs of Western Himalayan Temples from her collection.

I am deeply beholden to my friend Om Chand Handa for rendering the arduous task of preparing a map, line drawings and several photographs with utmost care and patience. It is on account of him that I have been able to complete the pictorial portion of this book.

I wish to record my gratitude to Dr. Vishwa Chander Ohri for lending me some photographs from the Himchal State Museum, Simla. I am also grateful to Onkar Chand Sud for allowing me to publish some photographs from his personal collection.

I am highly indebted to Raja Rana Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal whose affection and generosity I always cherish. It is he who inspired me to write this book and gave me a free access to his library and collection of paintings.

Finally I express my deepest appreciation to my wife Tikam Devi and daughters Bhavnesh and Tribhavan Rekha who have kept me free from all household botheration and helped me in many ways in the preparation of this work.

Mian Goverdhan Singh

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Dedicated

to the memory of my parents

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ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

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Chapter One

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

History records the existence of a developed culture in the pre-Christian era in Himachal Pradesh. The culture of Himachal Pradesh is distinct and unique in the sense that it is a continuous cultural thread woven by four cultural groups of the south and north. It combines the Hindu tradition of the south and Lamaistic beliefs of the north. Herein is found the greatest example of religious tolerance and coexistence.

Himachal Pradesh was settled by a series of migrations that continued for centuries. The settlers came from all the surrounding areas, but principally from the Indian plains. Four major cultures, each distinguished by its characteristic socio-economic features, can be discerned here.

First, the people of prehistoric Indian culture flowed into Himachal areas from the south, settling in the southern and central parts. The distinctive features of this culture was the Kolarian language, an indigenous religious system, and a mixed economy of livestock raising and shifting agriculture.

The second strain was that of the people of Aryan origin—the Khasas who penetrated from the north-west, and settled in the midmountain belt of the Himalayas from Kashmir to Nepal. The principle features of their culture was their language that is closely allied to Sanskrit, now known as *Pahari*, and settled agriculture. They were war-like people. Today they form a large majority of the population.

The Indo-Mangoliods known as Kiratas in Sanskrit literature came from the north-east. The people of this culture settled in the northernmost fringes, and after a lapse of centuries got mixed with the locals. Its characteristic features include Indo-Tibetan language, Lamaistic Buddhism, mixed economy of livestock raising, shifting agriculture, and trade.

The Indo-Aryan culture penetrated from the south. The people belonging to this culture came from the Indian plains from time to time for a number of reasons. The most important of these reasons was the location of holy places in and around

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Himachal Pradesh. High caste Hindus migrated to the hills during the Muslim invasions of north India from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. The distinctive feature of their culture was the Indo-Aryan language, Vaishnavism, settled agriculture and the caste system. Although the people of Himachal Pradesh comprise four major cultural groups, the predominant cultural characteristics have been provided by the Aryan people—the Khasas and their kith and kin, the Kanets who laid the foundation of much that is considered to be typical of the area today. The people of all the cultural groups enjoy perfect freedom to pursue their own way of life, their customs, conventions and beliefs. Wave after wave of powerful men from the Indian plains made their appearance in the hills as a result Himachal Pradesh became basically a refuge of Hindu culture. It spread far and wide in the valleys, and it became very difficult for the vanquished people to remain in isolation from the impact of the visitors. Though they were compelled to adopt the caste system of the conquerors, they did not renounce their tradition and language. On the contrary, they made the newcomers speak their language. A new picture appeared as a result of the fusion of the ideals of the old indigenous religious system, Buddhism and Hinduism. The old settlers were thus successful in retaining their own culture while imbibing new ideas.

It was not only Indian civilisation and culture that influenced the cultural life of the people of Himachal Pradesh but also the culture of neighbouring areas like Kashmir, Tibet, and central Asia. Of these influences, the Indian influence was the strongest, because there was a steady contact between the people of the hills and the plains of the sub-continent, and a lesser contact with the people of central Asia.

But in spite of its general unity, Hindu culture was not of a uniform pattern throughout the length and breadth of the region. Even today this varies from place to place and from valley to valley despite easy contact.

There has always been an obvious distinction between the Indo-Aryan speaking areas of the southern hills and Indo-Tibetan speaking areas of the north. There are many other varying differences which may be attributed to climatic conditions and religious faiths.

The people of Himachal Pradesh are bound together by ties of common religion, though religious observances differ. By and large they have maintained their original forms of worship. The large majority is Hindu by faith, devoted to traditional gods. The people have a firm, almost a blind, belief in the village deities. Whether the deity is a god, a hero, a Rishi or otherwise, it is called a Devta, because it is the source of inspiration for all the villagers. Almost every village has a temple where they congregate for common worship. The village deities, commonly known

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as Devta, are carried in palanquins on a number of occasions to places of religious interest and to fairs and festivals. The deities are propitiated to obtain timely rain or good harvests or other favours. People believe that their gods are generally well disposed towards the worshippers, and confer their blessings on them. If, however, they are not worshipped in proper forms, they become angry and, in their wrath, allow the evil spirits to prey on men in the form of epidemic diseases and other calamities. They believe that evil spirits, live in the hill ranges and tree tops and occasionally they disturb their peace. People protect themselves under the sheltering care of their village deities. Thus a common belief is to ward off the evil effects of these spirits by worshipping the local gods.

Belief in the local god or goddess, the Devta or Devi is deep rooted. The local deities are known by different names, such as Mahasu, Shirgul, Nag, Jamlu, etc. The legends relating to gods and goddesses are numerous. They depict the stories of their origins and miracles. The stories in praise of these deities are generally sung on special occasions. The earliest inhabitants of Himachal Pradesh probably cherished some early form of Shaivism. The archaeologists have discovered traces of Shiva worship in the prehistoric Harappan culture. It is not known whether the Shiva of Himachal Pradesh was an immigrant from the Indus valley or he was of local origin. In Himachal Pradesh there are remotely situated caves containing Shivalingas which symbolize the creative power of the god.

One of the best example of such caves is found at Shashan in Jubbal. This cave was accidentally discovered by an ascetic in 1940, when he was climbing a hillock with the idea of ending his life in an isolated place. At one point he crept under a cluster of bushes, where he saw an opening in the hill side. He entered in it thinking it to be a comparatively safer place to breath his last. In the dark cave he felt something hard. He came out and went to a village to fetch a lantern. When he again returned to the cave with the light he saw that from inside it was quite spacious and at the end of the cave there was a Shivalinga. Till 1940 no one knew about the cave. This testifies to the remoteness of the Shiva cult in the hills.

Whatever might have been the origin of the Shiva cult in Himachal Pradesh, there is no doubt that Shiva is a popular deity and has been widely worshipped not in the valley only, but in the valleys and on the peaks. Since ancient times Kinnar-Kailash (Ruldung in *Kinnauri* dialect), Mani-Mahesh in Chamba, Chauri-Chandani in Sirmur-Chaupal are considered to be the abode of Shiva. Every year thousands of pilgrims visit these holy peaks. The important centres of the Shiva cult in Himachal Pradesh are Brahmaur in Chamba, Nirmand and Bajaura in Kulu, Baijnath in Kangra, Hatkoti in Jubbal in Simla hills, and Sungra in Kinnaur.

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Closely connected with the worship of Shiva, and far more widely spread, is the Shakti cult. Shakti is known by such names as Durga, Kali, Kalki, Bhumi, Maheshwari, and Ambika. The goddess is thought to be the benevolent universal mother and protectress of all living creatures, and is also known as Uma, Devi or Parvati. There is, however, another more violent side to her character, which is indicated by such names as Mahishasurmardini or the destroyer of the demons. The divinities Shitla, the goddess of small pox, Mazani and other goddesses of diseases, are but manifestations of the same goddess, Maharani, the great queen, and Devi Mai or Devi Mata, the goddess mother. Their shrines are to be found throughout Himachal, even to the farthest points in Pangi, Lahaul and Kinnaur. The important places of Devi worship in Himachal Pradesh are Hatkoti in Jubbal, Ambika Devi in Nirmand, Chandika Devi at Kothi and Usha at Nichar in Kinnaur, Bhima Kali in Sarahan, Hidimba Devi at Manali, Tripurasundari at Nagar in Kulu, Jawala Mukhi and Vajrashwari in Kangra, Chintpurni in Una, Lakshana Devi at Brahmaur, Shakti Devi at Chatrabri, Mirkulia Devi at Udaipur, in Chamba and Naina Devi in Bilaspur.

Himachal Pradesh was one of the principle centres of serpent worship in India. The cult of the Nagas (serpents) goes back to ancient times in the western Himalayas, and undoubtedly it is one of the indigenous religions of the area. Nagas have large numbers of worshippers. Their shrines are numerous, and there are also Nagini (female Naga) shrines, but the latter are not common. The image in these shrines is usually of stone in human form with the figure of a snake entwined around it and a serpent canopy rising over the head. The shrine also contains figures of snakes in stone, wood and iron. Water springs are believed to be under the control of the snake godlings. Many of the Naga godlings are believed to have the power to grant rain and in times of drought they are diligently propitiated.

Buddhism seem to have obtained a footing in Himachal Pradesh as early as the 3rd century B.C. We know that this region formed a part of the empire of Asoka (272-232 B.C.), who was an ardent follower of Lord Buddha. The emperor Asoka sent four missionaries to the Himalayas to preach Buddhism and built many Stupas in this part of his vast empire, some of which were in existence as late as the time of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang's visit to India in 630-644 A.D. This is also attested by his rock edicts at Kalsi. Inscriptions in mixed Brahmi and Kharoshti script (200 B.C.) at Kanhiara on the Chauran river, 6.4 kilometres from Dharamsala, and at Pathyar on the Buner river also speak of the existence of a Buddhist monastery there. Hiuen-Tsang also mentions of a Stupa in the Kulu valley built by Asoka. The disintegration of Asoka's empire about 185 B.C. does not seem to have disturbed the Buddhist hold in the region. Even after the invasions by the Bactrian Greeks, the Indo-Parthians and the Indo-Scythians, Buddhism flourished in the Shiwalik areas when

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this became a part of the Kushana empire (c. 50 B.C.—210 A.D.). The famous Kushana king Kaniska was a staunch Buddhist. His empire extended from Kashgar in central Asia to Varanasi in the east. Khashas, Audumbaras, Kulindas, and many other tribes, inhabited the valleys of Himachal during this period. All these tribes were vassals of the Kushanas who helped in the propagation of Buddhism. The hold of Buddhism on the Himachal people is evident from the ruins of a Stupa at Chetru, near Kangra and from some very interesting images on the coins of the Audumbaras (c. 2nd B.C.—3rd A.D.). Hiuen-Tsang who visited this area twice found in the spring of 635 A.D. over 50 monasteries of Buddhists with some 2000 monks in Trigarta-Jalandhara and 20 monasteries in Kuluta. Having spent a considerable time there and visiting monastery after monastery, the Chinese pilgrim must have had good reasons for giving these figures.

Riwalsar in Mandi district was one of the Buddhist centres in the hills. Padmasambhava (8th century A.D.), a Buddhist scholar and monk from Udhiyana, now called the Swat valley, is said to have lived and done penance here. He was a great follower of the Vajrayana faith and founded Lamaism. At that time Tibet was ruled by Trsongdetsen (797 A.D.). He invited Padmasambhava from India to preach Buddhism in Tibet. The monk instituted the Vajrayana system in Tibet and built the first Buddhist monastery at Samya in c. 779 A.D. Padmasambhava is also said to have travelled several times from Tibet to Kashmir via Riwalsar, despite the difficult journey which took three to four months. Although his specific routes are not known, they were either down the Sutlej valley to India and then across the Shiwalik ranges to the Beas valley and so to Kashmir, or the way through the Spiti and Chandra valleys to Ladakh, and onward to the valley of Kashmir. The routes apparently followed by the Buddhist pilgrims were those to the south leading to Jalandhara, Kulu, and Kashmir.

Buddhism of the Vajrayana Tantric system seems to have been introduced in the border areas of Lahaul & Spiti and Kinnaur from India probably by Padmasambhava in the 8th century A.D. The reason for this conclusion is that the name of Padmasambhava, the principal Tantric Buddhist missionary of that time is mentioned not only in connection with the most ancient Buddhist monasteries of Lahaul & Spiti, but even in regard to Hindu places of worship in the adjoining countries. It is of some interest to know that in the ancient book called *Padma-bha-bt'-ang*, the countries Zahar(Tibetan for Mandi) and Gazha (Garzha, the local name for Lahaul) are mentioned among the countries visited by Padmasambhava, and the name Guru Ghantal occurs among those of the monasteries founded by the same lama. Apart from Riwalsar which is sacred to Hindus and Buddhist alike,Padmasambhava's name is associated with Nako in the lower Spiti valley in northern Kinnaur, where his supposed footprints on the rock are enshrined in a small enclosure.

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The cult of Vishnu seems to have existed in a restricted form in Himachal Pradesh from a very early period. Ten incarnations are usually attributed to Vishnu. Narsingha, Parshu Rama, Rama, and Krishna are worth mentioning. Parshu Rama is worshipped in Rainka of Sirmur and Nirmand of Kulu. This shows the antiquity of Vaishnavism in the hills.

By the 8th century A.D. Buddhism had nearly disappeared from India and so from Himachal, except in Lahaul, Spiti and Kinnaur. The Hindu revivalist and reformer Shankaracharya (8th century A.D.) who wrote commentaries on the *Gita* and the *Brahamsutra*, toured the country and established four Hindu Mathas or religious centres. He also visited Kashmir and Badrinath. The next Vaishnava reformer was Ramanuja (1017-1137 A.D.) who travelled widely in India and also visited Badrinath in the Himalaya to popularise Vaishnavism.The others were Madhava (1197-1276 A.D.) and Jayadev (12th century A.D.). They also propagated the Vishnu cult. In Indian history this period is called the Rajput period. Rajput princes became devotees of Vishnu, especially of Rama and Krishna, so much so that they connected their geneologies with Rama and Krishna omitting the historical dynasties of Maruyas, Guptas and many others. They appointed Brahmins as their priests, court noblemen and advisors. Some of the Rajput princes from the 8th century to the 15th centuries under various circumstances migrated to the Shiwalik hills. Their retinues included Brahmins, who spread Vaishnavism in the hills. Where the Rajput princes settled and made their capitals they built temples of Vishnu, Rama and Krishna; but this cult mostly remained confined to the towns. In the later centuries when the art of painting became popular with the hill chiefs most of the themes of their paintings were about incarnations of Lord Vishnu, especially as Rama and Krishna. The important places of the Vishnu cult are Lakshmi-Naryan temple at Chamba, the Raghunath temple in Kulu, Madho-Rai in Mandi, Parashu Rama at Rainka, in Sirmur, and Parashuram in Nirmand.

Besides Shiva and Vishnu, there are many other minor Hindu gods and goddesses in Himachal Pradesh. The important shrines in respect of these are the Surya temple at Nirath, the Dattatreya Swami temple at Dattnagar in the Satluj valley, Brahma temples in Kulu District, Guga in Mandi District, Siddhs in Brhamaur-Chamba. The Sikhs have two historical Gurudwaras in Himachal Pradesh, one of which is in Poanta-Sahib in Sirmur and the other is at Riwalsar in Mandi. Both these are connected with the poet warrior Guru Govind Singh.

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Chapter Two

INDIGENOUS ART

The creative power of the people of Himachal Pradesh is brilliantly expressed in their art and architecture. Backed by the old traditions of culture and art, the art objects of Himachal artists can be found in the world museums as a testimony of past achievements and a proof of their extraordinary skill; it has continued to reveal a powerful and many-sided reality reflected in the hill people's struggle for existence for centuries in the valleys of their home land.

With the passage of time the changes, perceivable and imperceivable, were likewise correspondingly reflected in their artistic creations.For these reasons an acquaintance with the life of the hill people can be of great help in understanding the background of this art. Dwelling amidst the myriad Himalayan scenery of great diversity,— the snow covered mountain ranges, rolling hills, high peaks, widespread evergreen pine forests, the majestic "vales and dales" as well as torrential rivers and clear lakes — the hillmen have lived perpetually in fantastic natural surroundings.

Broadly speaking, Himachal art can be divided into three groups, each distinguished by the recurring themes of Hinduism and Buddhism. These are : (1) Indigenous or Khasha Art, (2) Indo-Aryan Art; and (3) Indo-Tibetan Art influenced by old Tibetan beliefs and Buddhist thought and philosophy. Thus Himachal Pradesh has been a meeting ground of varied arts and cultures.

The creators of the indigenous art were the earliest settlers, the Kol and the Khashas, who migrated to the hills from the Indian plains and from central Asia respectively in the proto-historic times. The former brought in the art traditions of the Indus valley, when they were pushed further in the interior valleys by the invading Aryan tribes; the later brought ideas and themes from central Asia. These two cultures met and were fused into a new composite culture and art known as the Indigenous or Khasha tradition. After them came the Greeks, the Scythians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Huns, the Gujars and possibly many others. Each wave of invasion left behind deposits of race, religion, language and customs which in course of time came to be woven into the cultural life of the land. Thus every idea, whether introduced from

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outside or the product of native genius, took roots in the soil and gradually had its flowering.

In the ancient and mediaeval times these hills had a rich treasure of art and architecture. Most of the early monuments were made of wood and other perishable materials and have consequently disappeared, leaving behind no tangible examples of art belonging to the early centuries after Christ. Vague hints are provided by relics such as the coins of the Adumbaras (2nd B.C.—3rd cent. A.D.). On the square copper coins and the silver coins of Dharagosha we come across an object resembling a temple. Alexander Cunningham describes the object as a pyramidal temple of two or three storeys. According to S. V. Sohoni, the temple depicted on the coins of the Audumbaras have a *Dhvaja*, a *Trishula*, and a battle axe, and on that ground he thinks that it must have been a Shaivaite temple. He says that the representation is a type and not a particular building. He describes this structure, and says that the ground floor is a square with two steps on one side. An open circumambulatory passage exists around the sanctum. The bulbous pillars might have been carved with floral patterns or figures of dragons, animals or birds. It was, as he asserts, a hill temple and not a mote-hall or a two or three storeyed Stupa. Temples constructed in wood and stone in alternate layers, and slate as in Mandi district can be seen even today and are a matter of great attraction in the Kulu and the Beas valleys. Thus the building in question is a Shiva temple of the type which is still common in the Kulu and the Beas valleys.

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

The ancient art of Himachal Pradesh has survived in the form of temple architecture, wood carvings, stone sculptures, bronzes and various types of metal work. The most elementary form of hill architecture is represented by the old temples which are scattered everywhere all along the mountain slopes and in the valleys. These are of indigenous styles and peculiar to the hills. They are largely undated apart from those built within the living memory or are being built presently.

The architecture of the Himalayas was originally wholly of wood as extensive forests of *Cedrus Deodara* have been in existence here since time immemorial. Deodar wood has great durability and is insect-proof like teak. Its life span is up to a thousand years. A large number of Himalayan temples scattered all over the middle belt of Himachal are of wood, generally deodar and pine. These shrines built like most buildings of that material are very large but at the same time they are more picturesque and more richly carved than buildings of more permanent and more intractable materials.

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According to William Simpson, one of the earliest writers on hill architecture, cedar wood lasts for a long time, and because it binds the stone structure together wood has been liberally used in stone structures, and when used it was always laid in a horizontal position. In the well-built houses, the wood is very carefully arranged, the beams being perhaps 30 cms or so in depth, extending the whole length of the wall—a beam on the outside and another on the inside—the space between being filled up with stone. The wall at right angles has its beams laid on the two just mentioned; on these again rest the next set of beams of the first mentioned wall, and thus they are set alternately. It can be seen that this mass of wood work is capable of holding together itself in between to make a solid wall.

Provisionally, and for want of a better term, we shall call it "Khasha style". All buildings of the Khasha style, whether a country house or a palace, a temple or a temple treasury, known as a *Bhandar*, share the same technique of construction, and all use the same primary simple building materials, stone and wood. Individual buildings within the same style are differentiated according to functional demand and the money available.

Temples command a pre-eminent place in the history of Himachal culture. In the architectural realm alone they qualify in the most outstanding Khasa style building, both in size and antiquity. Characteristically, a temple is built in the centre of the village or on the upper slopes of it. The ground plan is square or rectangular, and the materials used are the primarily stone and wood. The more important temples are built by communal effort and are maintained by temple communities. The first expert to classify the principal styles of hill architecture was Capt. A.F.P. Harcourt. In Himachal Pradesh there are throughout four, if not five, distinct types of hill temple which probably may mark different eras of religious belief and also perhaps the infusion of new races with the older inhabitants. The varieties of temples are as follows :

1. The rectangular stone and wood temple furnished with a pent roof and veranda.

2. The rectangular stone and wood temple provided, Pagoda fashion, with successive wooden roofs, one on the top of the other.

3. The tower-like stone and wood temple with a square base and sloping roof.

4. A fusion of sloping roof and Pagoda type roof otherwise known as Sutlej Valley type.

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The rectangular stone and wood temples with pent roofs are the most ancient in Himachal Pradesh. They are scattered all over the country. Their upper portions in most cases have been repaired, but the ground work indicates their antiquity. They must have been laid at a very remote period. In size these structures differ considerably, but while they vary in the construction of their verandas and the quality of the carved work with which the same are decorated, they all have one common feature, namely the finely-cut large and good stones that constitute their base. Among the most remarkable of these temples are, Lakshana Devi temple at Brahmaur, Shiakt Devi at Chhatrarhi, Kali at Mirkula or Udaipur in Chamba District, Bijli Mahadeo above the confluence of the Beas and Parvati rivers, Jagat Sukh temple and Murlidhar temple at Chaini, Dehra Bhandar at Nithar, Devi Chungarsa temple at Chung, Ambika at Nirmand in Outer Seraj (Kulu valley), Mahasu at Gijari-Theog, Bijat temple at Sarahan-Chopal, Magreshar temple at Kot in Kumarsain. In the upper Sutlej valley and Pabar valley there are numerous temples of this style.

Chamba can boast of three such temples adorned with the finest wood carving found in Himachal Pradesh. They are the temples of Lakshana at Brahmaur, that of Shakti, at Chhatrarhi, and the one of Kali at Mirkula in Lahaul. It will be noticed that these three temples are all dedicated to goddesses. The Brahmaur and Chhatrarhi temples can be approximately dated for they contain brass images with inscriptions which record their date of erection by Meruverman which may be assigned to about 700 A.D., though it may be doubtful whether the images are contemporaneous with the temples in which they are enshrined. The timber used for these buildings is the Himalayan cedar or deodar wood which, if well seasoned, is one of the most durable timbers. The carvings which are exposed to the ravages of the weather (e.g., those on the fecade of the Lakshana temple) are now much decayed, but wherever sheltered, they are in an excellent state of preservation. This is especially conspicuous in the carved capitals of the Shakti temple.

Like so many ancient sanctuaries in India, the Lakshana Devi temple is a ruin though kept in good repair, because its cult has never been seriously interrupted. But these repairs have been carried out without a proper understanding of the original design, as also of the technique and taste of the local peasant architecture. Thus today the temple appears as a simple hut of wood-and-rubble construction with a broad, far-projecting gable roof covered with slates, very similar to many local shrines all over the hills, but especially to those in Kulu. In the centre of its front, however, there is a masterpiece of woodcarving, still very impressive despite its present deplorable condition, a richly carved entrance frame on which rests a three-storeyed pediment, in its turn crowned by a triangular gable. Inside there is a rectangular *Mandapa* supported by four pillars interlinked by railings on both sides. Behind the

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Mandapa there opens the quadratic cella, again with a richly carved entrance between two other pillars, enshrining the brass statue of Lakshana Devi.

It is not easy to describe the facade of the temple, for thirteen centuries of rain and rough weather have utterly corroded even the resistant deodar wood, so that only the stronger fibres of the carved surface remain. Thus, from some distance the figures, all deeply carved, appear quite distinct, but as one approaches nearer and nearer in order to study the details, the definition becomes more and more indistinct.

Very similar to the Lakshana Devi temple at Brahmaur is that of the Shakti Devi at Chhatrarhi in Chamba. Tradition attributes its foundation to have been laid by Mushuna (c. 820 A.D.), the ancient ruler of Brahmaur. But the inscription on the idol mentions Meruverman (c. 680 A.D.), the founder of Brahmaur, still the other tradition holds that the temple was the last work of Gugga, the master-artisan of Meruverman.

The building resembles the Lakshana temple at Brahmaur in many respects, and yet there are also dissimilarities both in its plan and decoration. Thus it has no separate *Mandapa*, but only one large shrine which, however, seems later to have been sub-divided into a cella and a *Mandapa*. This nucleus is surrounded by an open gallery, supported by twelve massive wooden columns.

The original shrine is surrounded by a gallery (measuring inside 7.60 mts. by 7.70 mts., and up to the lowest beam 2.60 mts. high,) supported by twelve heavy pillars (45 cms. thick) of deodar wood, very similar to those in the Lakshana Devi temple at Brahmaur, but even richer indecorative motives. On the brackets lions and other animals alternate with flying Gandharvas and stylized flower scroll with the deities of the central-niche panels. On the exterior side, of course, these carvings are very badly corroded by the weather, whereas the fringe of stalactite knobs along the edge of the roof must have been renewed in the course of time.

The entrance to the gallery and that to the interior are both of the same type as those of the Lakshana temple. Yet the rich pediment and gable of the facade of the latter are absent, while the sculptures of the door frames proper are less elaborate. The interior entrance is rather simple : first a small border, than a frieze of decorative bosses, and finally a set of four, now badly damaged, deities on both sides.

The entrance to the sanctum is interesting. The outermost frieze projects to the right and left at the top corners, enclosing two sitting lions. The next frame consists of two jambs alternately decorated with three standing deities and three

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smaller crouching Ganas each. Of the latter two are ox-headed, two lion-headed, one has elephant-ears and one a face in his belly. Among the deities Karttikeya with six faces and a peacock, Indra with his *Vajra* and the elephant Airavata, possibly also Shiva can be recognized on the left, and the four-armed Brahma, with a rosary and vessel in his hand, accompanied by two *Hamsas* on the right. The lintel, again, is decorated with flying Gandharavas, those in the centre holding a crown, the rest various unidentified objects, each carrying his mate on his back. On the jambs of the next frame, again, four, somewhat smaller standing deities are represented on each side. Most of them unfortunately cannot be identified; on the left jamb (from top to bottom) : a figure holding an object which might be a garland, veil or noose (Vayu or Yama), Durga Mahishasur mardini, Vishnu with human, lion and boar heads, and four arms holding his emblems, i.e. the disc, conch, lotus and mace, and at the bottom the river goddess Ganga; on the right jamb : an unidentified goddess (?), a god with a club (Bhairava), again a god or goddess, and finally the river goddess Yamuna. The corresponding lintel shows thirteen sitting figures, most of them four armed and, as the tenth from the left, a big head in profile, with matted hair and well executed ear-ring. All these permit the group to be identified as the *Navagraha*, including Rahu, the dragon-demon which is said to cause the eclipse of the moon, and on the right, the four Lokapals, the guardian deities of the four cardinal points. The innermost frame, finally, is decorated with highly stylized scroll work sprouting from long drawn creeper spirals growing out of the mouths of two sitting Yakshas at the bottom.

The temple of Kali, commonly called Mirkula Devi after the name of the village where it is found, is of unknown late. The image of the goddess, a small brass idol of inferior workmanship, is inscribed in *Tankari* which indicates that it belongs to a later period, perhaps 13th or 14th century. It appears that the temple in which it is enshrined is earlier in age than the image. The popular tradition has it that the Mirkula temple and that of Hidimba at Manali in Kulu were wrought by the same artisan deserves no credit. The Manali temple with its profuse but crude wood carvings was built by order of Raja Bahadur Singh of Kulu in 1553 A.D.

The temple of Mirkula Devi must be centuries older. On the other hand it cannot be denied that its decoration does not reach the excellence of that on the Lakshana and Shakti temples. It evidently belongs to some intermediate period, perhaps 10th or 11th century.

Like the temples already discussed, Mirkula does not look impressive from the outside, as its exterior, exposed to the inclemencies of the Tibetan highland climate, had to be renewed time and again. Like the Lakshana temple it has an ante-room

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or *Mandapa* in front of the shrine proper, and a solid wall enclosing both. The temple is surmounted by a high conical roof. The interior, however, is remarkable. The richness of the carvings exceed those of both Brahmaur and Chhatrarhi. Even a first survey reveals that the deodar wood carvings do not all belong to the same period, but may be roughly divided into an earlier and a later group. The first comprises the facade of the shrine, the ceiling panels of the *Mandapa*, and the four main pillars supporting the ceiling. To the later must belong the panels on both sides of the window, the architraves of the ceiling, two additional pillars on the west side, opposite the sanctum, and the two huge *Dwarpalas* statues flanking the facade of the sanctum.

It would be impossible here to give an adequate description of the wood carvings which cover the facade of the shrine and the ceiling of the *Mandapa*. The central panel of the latter, with its magnificent lotus rosette enclosed with a *Vajara* border, is similar in construction and partly in design to the ceiling of the Pandrathan temple of Kashmir. The visitor is curious to find, on one of the other panels of the ceiling, a representation of the temptation of Buddha by Mara, the Evil One, a theme which one would scarcely expect to meet in a shrine dedicated to the goddess Kali. In the centre is seen the Sakya Sage seated unruffled alike to the charms of Mara and his daughters as well as to the temptations of his dreadful host. To the left is Mara standing on a chariot drawn by dragons, aiming an arrow at the Buddha. To the right we see him again on the same chariot after his arrow failed to reach the mark. His two daughters support him, while the bow and arrow are seen dropping from his hands and the animals attached to his chariot are thrown into confusion. Of the remaining carvings there are scenes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* on the architraves. Two panels on both sides of this window represent the churning of the ocean and the Dwarf incarnation of Vishnu (Vamanavtara). Conspicuous is the figure of Vishnu who, having assumed his divine shape, bestrides the universe in three steps. Kulu is certainly the best place in Himachal Pradesh for the study of western Himalayan achitecture in its five distinct styles. The chief of these is the indigenous timber-bonded style which consists of alternate courses of 'dry' stone and deodar wood beams. This style is used throughout whole of the region in both sacred and secular buildings. The kind of construction is said to be earthquake-proof, because the absense of mortar between the dressed stones gives the walls a chance to quiver with the quake instead of trying to stand against the earthquake's movements.

Among other temples of this style, Devi Chungarsa's temple of Chugh in lower Parvati valley is also worth mentioning. In the words of Penelope Chetwode, the temple is raised on a 'dry' stone plinth with a steep flight of steps leading up to the door. The temple measures 7.25 metres across the front and 7.87 metres along the

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sides. It has a veranda along the facade only, enclosed by a screen which is pierced by four curious jagged-shaped windows (not regular Mughal cusped arches as are found in many enclosed veranda in both sacred and secular buildings in the hills). In between and below these windows are folk style decorative carvings, in low relief, of hookah smokers, peacocks drinking out of a tall vase, and various floral and abstract patterns.

The magnificent screen is perhaps the only one of its kind which divides the interior of the temple in half, and acts as a kind of iconostasis with a double door in the centre. The carving on it is far superior to that on the exterior of the building and probably dates from the 18th century. The dress in which most of the figures are adorned is Mughal which became fashionable in court circles in the hills from the late 17th century on, when the local families of the miniature painters were influenced by Muslim paintings.

The arch over the door is formed of elephant trunks as in Gaja Lakshmi images, and in the spandrels above them are the goddess' lions, as Chungaras Devi is simply a local name for Durga who is always seen riding a lion in her battles with demons. Reef-knots figure repeatedly in the decorative scheme and may be a reminder of the Caltic origin of some of the tribes who settled in the western Himalaya and in Rajasthan (where this motif is also found) after the collapse of the Gupta empire in the 6th century A.D.

About the Nirmand temples Dr. A.H. Francke writes in his book *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (1913) that the proof of the great age of Nirmand is the fact that all the principal temples are of the hill type. They are built of layers of rubble masonry alternating with beams of cedar wood. The roofs are sloping and slightly concave on either side of the central beam and laid with slates or wooden shingles. None of these buildings seem to be of a very great age. But, as they were always repaired in the same style, the temples of Nirmand of two or three thousand years ago probably did not look different from those of today. The Ambika temple is said to be the oldest in Nirmand, and Ambika, a form of Kali, is the chief deity of the place. According to a legend, it was founded by Parshu Rama. In this temple was kept the copper-plate grant from king Samudrasena of the 7th century, but this has now disappeared. The Simla hills, too, are dotted with thousands of structures of this style of sacred and secular architecture. The majority of these are to be found in the region of the upper valleys of Sutlej, Giri and Pabar rivers. On account of limited space, it is not possible to give detailed descriptions of all the temples, but an endeavour is made to include the more important ones of these regions.

The most interesting structure of this style is Raja Bashahr's palace-cum-temple

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at Sarahan. Dr. A.H. Francke writes in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (1913) that "it is one of the finest specimens of hill architecture I have ever seen. Although these are no written records about it, it is evidently of considerable age. Like all buildings of the hill type it is built of layers of rubble masonry and beams of cedar wood. The roofs are slanting and slightly concave like those of the Chinese." But J.C. French, an I.C.S. Officer writes in his book called *Himalayan Art* (1931) that "there is an old palace there, with sloping roofs and overhanging eaves. To any one unacquainted with hill architecture it would seem to show Chinese influence. But of course there is nothing of the sort there. It is in the style found in the Kangra valley and in the Chamba palace, except that it is in wood instead of brick or plastered mud. In the palace I saw some wood carving". According to Simla Hill States Gazetteer, 1904, it is reputed to be 1800 years old. William Simpson in *Architecture in the Himalayas* (1883) mentioned that "A comparison of the palace of Serahan and the Devi-ka-Makan, near Simla with plates 33, 34 and 35 of Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, will perhaps be of some interest to those who study the ancient architecture of India".

One of the most remarkable monuments of the Simla hills is the temple of Bijat at Sarahan in Chopal. This looks picturesque against the background of the magnificent deodar forest and the conical shaped Chur peak which is 3577 metres high, and which says John Worthan in his book *Guide to Masuri, Landaur, Dehra Dun and the Hills North of Dehra* (1884) that "the Chur is one of the noblest second-rate mountains in the World." The temple is dedicated to Bijat deity, and has two parallel rectangular buildings, the lower parts of which consist of alternating layers of stones and timbers. The slate-covered roofs of both the structures slope down from the side and projects over from the centre. The eaves of the roofs are covered with planks. To give an effective decoration fifteen to twenty cms long wooden fringes beautifully carved, also called bells, have been hung along the lower border of the plank as also beneath the veranda of the temple by means of hooks and eaves. The unknown architect must have borrowed the idea of fringes from the image of icicles which drip over the eaves when the snows collected on the lower part of the roof thawed. The temple has beautiful wooden verandas with balconies and galleries, worked in the traditional style of nailless framework which is characteristic of Himachal architecture. The door and niche frames have profusion of wood carvings having local motifs.

Apart from the temples there are many old palaces and forts still extant throughout Himachal Pradesh. Most of these were built in the style under review. Some of the notable palaces are Rana Balsan's palace at Ghorna in Theog tehsil, Rana Theog's palaces at Parala and Sainj, Khaneti palace, Kumarsain palace, and Jubbal

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palace, a portion of which still survives, the other portion having been destroyed by fire some years ago. James Ballie Fraser in his *Journal of a tour through part of the snowy ranges of the Himala mountains* (1820) has mentioned about Rana of Jubbal's palace, saying that "Rana's house was conspicuous". Captain Mundy in his book *The tours in Upper India* (1832) mentions it as a "Strange looking palace of the Jubbal Ranah, one of the most considerable of the highland barons. It is an immense mass of building, the upper storeys formed chiefly of wood". It is described as follows in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India-Punjab* (Vol. II) : "The Rana's residencn is built in partially Chinese style, the lower portion consisting of masonry, while the upper half is ringed round with wooden galleries capped by over hanging eaves. The palace is remarkable for the enormous masses of deodar timber used in its construction".

Another type of pent roofed style is seen in the tower temples. Locally they are called *Koti*. The chief difference between these two styles is that the tower style temples are built on a square plinth and all the four walls are of the same size. Some of the temples in tower style are about 45 metres high. In olden days highland barons of Himachal Pradesh used to live in tower-like high buildings.

By far the finest and most typical example of the tower style is the temple of Piri Devi, the family goddess of raja of Jubbal situated in old Jubbal about one mile east of the new town. Once it was the old capital of the principality. This building is about 45 metres high. The roof is sloping covered with slates and eaves are decorated by hanging wooden bells round them. The verandas are close to the roof. Near the main entrance on the ground floor there are beautiful carvings on the stone wall depicting local motifs. In the Jubbal valley there is yet another temple of tower style at Shari dedicated to Banar Deota. On the site of the present temple there was a temple about 45 metres high, from the top of which one could have a view of the greater Himalayan 4200 metres high Chanshal peak and from the east it overlooked the valley which spread below intersected by the Pabar that meanders with many a picturesque bend, and is, for the most part, lost to sight behind the thick woodland.

The other examples of this style are Mahasu temple at Gijari-Theog, Durga temple at Kiyari-Kotkhai. As for the secular building of this style, the Thakur's House at Gondhla-Lahaul is the best example.

Taking the style of roofs as the basis of distinction, the pyramid-like roof temples are also found in Himachal Pradesh, especially in Jubbal valley. Such types are built on square plinths. All the four lower edges of the temple roof are of equal length and go on narrowing towards the centre, forming a pyramid in the centre with a *Kalash* on the top. There are three temples in Jubbal town and two at Hatkoti.

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One at Chamaro village and one at Anu in Jubbal valley. Hatkoti temples are dedicated to the goddess Hateshwari and Shiva. James Ballie Fraser visited this place in 1815 and writes in *Journal of a Tour through the snowy ranges of Himala mountains* (1820) that "the temples are curious. They have the Chinese large overhanging roof... and elevated above them, a large round canopy of wood, the cornices are ornamented with a fringe of wooden bobbins, wooden bells are hung at each corner, and there is a good deal of carved work about them". Both the temples of Durga and Shiva were reroofed and repaired by Maharana Padam Chandra of Jubbal in 1885. The roof of the temple at present is pyramidal and is made of small slates. The pyramidal-like tower of the temple of Durga is studded with a marble *Amalaka* and upon this is fixed a golden *Kalash.*

The Pagoda style of architecture is the most interesting of all, and its origin forms a leading question in Indian art history. Some writers feel that the style shows Chinese influence. But the suggestion of Chinese models is misleading for ordinarily the "Pagoda style travelled from India through Nepal and Tibet to China and Japan, as has been shown, amongst others, by Percy Brown in his book *Indian Architecture.* Nepalese architects were invited to China. There they built the famous White Pagoda in Peking in the middle of the 7th century, as is proved by an inscription on it in Sanskrit and Chinese. Some authorities maintain that it came to Kulu and other adjoining regions from Nepal, where it was very common in the valley of Kathmandu; others say that it was introduced direct into the hills from the Indian plains during the reign of Harsha (606—47 A.D.).

Penelope Chetwode in her book *Kulu, the end of the habitable world* (1972) writes that the Pagoda style is one for which historians of Indian Art use various regional terms, though in this Himalayan region it simplifies matters if one sticks to the familiar term Pagoda by which is meant a building with a succession of superimposed pent roofs, each one a little smaller than the one below it. The inside wall of the bottom storey is usually of timber bonded stone, the remainder of the building being of wood. Sometimes, however, the eaves are covered with vast stone tiles in place of shingles. She adds that "in Kulu the Pagoda style is a folk version of the much more sophisticated and highly finished Nepalese court architecture". There are many Pagoda style temples in Mandi, Kulu, in Simla hills and in Kinnaur regions of Himachal Pradesh. Some of them can lay claim to considerable age. It is not possible to do justice to every temple. Therefore the most interesting ones are mentioned here. A few of the well known examples of these temples are the Parashar temple in Mandi, the Hidimba Devi at Doongri in Manali, Tripura Sundri at Nagar, Trijugi Narain at Diyar, Adi Brahma at Khokhan, in Kulu. Mahashvara temple at Sungra and Ukha Devi temple at Nichar in Kinnaur district.

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The best and most outstanding example of this style of architecture is the Parashar temple in the Mandi District. Penelope Chetwode describes in the *Temples of the Western Himalaya* (1973) that "this curiously attenuated Pagoda type temple is situated in the Mandi District in a basin of green hills beside a small lake with a floating island on it, at a height of some 2700 metres. To the south valleys of bright red rhododendrons run down to the Beas river some 30 kms. away, to the north there is a magnificent view of the 6000 metre snow peaks of Lahaul and Spiti about 70 kms. away. It is obviously ancient in origin and the carving on the body of the temple of intertwined snakes, birds, pot and foliage panels, gods and goddesses, heraldic beasts and a variety of abstract patterns, is of such excellence that I would be inclined to put it earlier than that of the famous temple of Hidimba at Manali, which is dated 1553, and on which the decorative carving on the facade nowhere near equals the quality of that at Parashar. The sanctuary door frame is the most elaborate I have so far seen in the hills and as beautiful as any I have seen in the classical style of the plains; a supreme work of art. It is composed of seven door jambs, each are receding a little to the actual door, and seven superimposed lintels. The outer doorjambs and the upper lintel are decorated with fat scaly intertwined serpents in one continuous design. The successive roofs are covered with slates from the Mandi slate quarries. In the temple of Prashar Rishi is a panel 37 cms high of a four armed female deity in a long pleated skirt wearing a mala (Garland). She is standing on what I take to be a local version of a Makara, a hybrid monster, usually resembling a crocodile, and very common in classical Indian Art. She appears to be holding its tongue in one of her right hands and its tail in one of her left. Her two remaining arms hold up a sickle and a Purna Kumbha (Water Pot). The latter is an attribute of the river goddess Ganga. She is not, however, in the usual position of a river goddess on a temple which is on either side of the cella door frame. At Prashar she is on the outside left wall of the shrine and it is the first time I have seen her depicted with four arms. For this reason she may represent Durga standing on the buffalo demon. Hindu iconography gets very mixed up in the hills."

In Kulu, Penelope Chetwode saw 13 examples of Pagoda style temples, of which the latest was built in 1970 in the village of Hurla. Out of these temples, four are very remarkable regarding their structure and design. In the area under review the only temple that has so far been dated from an inscription is the well known four-tiered Pagoda at Doongri which was constructed in 1553 A.D. The temple was built by Raja Bahadur Singh (c. 1532-59 A.D.), the son of Sidh Singh who reputedly built Nagar castle. The temple has four superimposed wooden pent roofs. The top one is circular and crowned by a brass *Kalash* and a trident. The total height of the temple is 24 metres. The facade is decorated with elaborate carving which is in the folk style of the areas, as opposed to the classical style, but one of the most interesting

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things about the style is the choice of the subjects. In addition to the customary gods and goddesses, elephants, *Makaras* (stylised crocodiles) and the pot and foliage motif which is common all over north and central India, there is the ancient Scythian figure of the stag looking back over its shoulder and spouting forth foliage, and the familiar Mediterranean theme of confronting birds drinking out of a large pot which represents the water of life. Such themes, including knots, scroll and plaitwork, are common in the folk art of the western Himalaya, and owe their origin to many different tribes which settled in northern India and were eventually absorbed into the local population. A.F.P. Harcourt in his book *Himalayan Districts of Kooloo, Lahaul and Spiti* (1871) writes "there is a story that the then reigning sovereign of Kulu, to prevent the artist ever making a duplicate of such a masterpiece, cut off the carver's right hand. But not to be baffled, the man taught his left hand to take the place of the lost member, and at Trilokinath in Chamba, executed an even finer piece of carving than at Doongri. Here again, however, adverse fortune followed him, for the Trilokinath people determined that no such workmanship should be ever exhibited elsewhere, now cut off his head". But Dr. Hermann Goetz in his scholarly book entitled *Early Wooden Temples of Chamba* (1955) mentions that "the Mirkula Devi temple in Chamba Lahaul is stated to be younger than that of Chhatrarhi, but older than the famous Hirma (Hidimba) temple at Manali in Kulu yet the master artisan who had constructed the Manali temple, is reported to have built, at a later date, the temple of Mirkula Devi. But the construction is merely apparent as we have already observed that the sculptures of the Mirkula temple belong to two sets of widely differing age." Dr. Hermann Goetz further writes that "a local tradition asserts that the Mirkula temple was the work of the master who in 1553 A.D. had erected the very interesting temple of Hirma at Manali for Bahadur Singh of Kulu. As a matter of fact, there is a remarkable similarity of many figures and other details of these later wood carvings to the reliefs on the Hirma temple. And as Pratap Singh (1558-82) was the son-in-law and close friend and ally of Bahadur Singh it seems highly probable that the master of the Manali temple had indeed been also the architect and sculptor of the present Mirkula Devi temple. The need for such a thorough renovation of the sanctuary must have facilitated its reconversion into a Hindu temple very much, in contrast to Trilokinath which up to the present day is both Lamaistic and Hindu."

At Nagar there is graceful example of this style in the three tiered temple of Tripura Sundari built of deodar. As is usual, in this region, the top storey is circular and the two lower storeys are divided by squat wooden pillars through which you can see the landscape on the far side of the valley. This temple undoubtedly dates in its present form to the 15th century like so many other temples, but it is originally of much greater age. However as in all examples of Himalayan temples with wooden rooms, these are periodically renewed when necessary. The 3 tiered roofs of Tripura

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Sundari were last renewed in 1960 at the expense of Birla who owns a house 1.5 kms to the south of Nagar. Nagar remained the capital of Kulu for more than a thousand years, from about 4th-5th century A.D. onward. Around it there are several examples of hill style architecture that go back to the period of Kulu's great artistic activity in the 8th and 9th century.

Other examples of the Pagoda style of temples are those of Manu Rishi at Shainsher, near the head of the Sainj valley, 600 mts above the right bank of river, having five tiered roofs, Triyugi Narain at Diyar which belongs to the reign of Busuda Pal, the eleventh chief or Pal of Kulu, but the reference was as likely as not made very long after this ruler's decease, and was only mentioned at all to show that Busuda Pal once resided near to the place where the edifice now stands, and the Adi Brahma temple at Khokhan. About Khokhan temple Penelope Chetwode writes in *Temples of the Western Himalaya* (1973) that this four tiered pagoda temple stands in the large village of Khokhan only 2.5 kms west of Bhuntar in the lower Kulu valley. Considering its proximity to the main road it is curious it has not attracted the attention of previous writers on Himalayan architecture. Harcourt records only four free-standing pagoda type temples in the area of which Khokhan is not one. Vogel and Longhurst stick to this number. We actually found nine old ones and four modern, the latest at Hurla, having been built in 1970. It is a well proportioned three tiered pagoda painted bright blue and white."

"The Khokhan temple must be somewhere between 21 metres and 24 metres high, rather irregularly proportioned with an extra wide bottom tier. An interesting feature of the structure is that the top roof is rectangular instead of circular as in all the other examples we recorded. A heavy beam bearing three wooden finials runs along the top ridge as in type 2 and 3 building. Carved galleries separate the three upper storeys with elaborately carved struts springing from the backs of birds to support the successive pent roofs. Another feature is the stylised horses' heads at the bottom of each corner of the second and third roofs which each have a projecting stone tile to protect them from the weather. The decorative carving on the lower storey in low relief in fascinating primitive designs is what we named the Picasso style". However the Sutlej valley temples are not free-standing buildings but consist of a (usually) 3-tiered *Garbaha Griha* with a *mandapa* attached. A number of temples of Pagoda style are also extant in the upper Sutlej valley, mostly in Kinnaur region. Among them the most notable are Maheshwara temple of Sungra, Maheshwara temple of Kothgaon, Maheshwara temple of Chugaon and Ukha (Usha) temple at Nichar. The three Maheshwara temples are beautifully built and that of Ukha is also picturesque.

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About Sungra temple Dr. A.H. Francke states in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* that "between Paunda and Nichar is the village of Sungra, a little below the road. It is famous for its ancient wooden Mahasura (Maheshwara) temple. It is a fine specimen of hill architecture, and reminds one of the famous temple of Hidimba at Manali in Kulu which was built by King Bahadur Singh in the 16th century. While the temples of Nirmand have the shape of an ordinary rectangular house with a single gable roof, the temple at Sungra has a square ground-plan and three slanting roofs, one above the other, the lower one being the largest, and the top one is round, of the shape of a funnel. The four corner beams of the lowest roof end in wooden figures of walking lions, almost life-size".

In 1883 William Simpson read his paper before the Royal Institute of British Architecture entitled as "Architecture in the Himalayas" in which he said that "the temple has the appearance of having been built according to some settled design, with special arrangement in its parts. Although nearly all the villages had khudas, yet I know that here and there temples of a more Hindu kind exist, and it is quite possible that the circular roof of the Churgaon temple may be the shikhara over a lingam, although the roof of that part is circular, the walls under it are square, and built of wood and stone, while all the rest of the temple is of wood. I am inclined to think it was exceptional in its form among these hill *devi-ka-makans*, or god places, as they are familiarly called, and you will see how marked is the difference between it and the Chini temple, with which I am very familiar, having lived for two months in the village."

James Fergusson in *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (Vol. I. 1910) writes that "it illustrates, too, the form to which the shikhars is reduced in such a building, and it may be noted that the corners of the projecting roofs are ornamented with a quaint forms of gargoyles, sometimes representing the form of a bird stuck on the snout of a serpent".

The fifth style is a fusion of pent roof and Pagoda roof. Penelope Chetwode has named it as Sutlej valley style because this type of structure is generally found in the Sutlej valley. This is also clear from the drawings of William Simpson found in the *Himalayan Architecture* (1883), who travelled extensively in the Sutlej valley. Bhima Kali temple of Sarahan and Nithar Dhanah in Outer Sutlej are two examples of this style. The temple of Dhaneswari Devi in Nithar is in the Sutlej valley style, being a fusion of the pent roof and Pagoda style, the former being the *Mandapa* type (hall of a classical plains type temple), the latter the *shikhara* type (the tower above the sanctuary). The single circular Pagoda roof is raised on a gallery decorated with the familiar confronting bird motif. Magnificent birds are also carved below the

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capitals on the square pillars of the veranda which runs right round the rectangular temple. Here they are not confronting but look round on the sides of the pillars to form one head on the corners. The walls of the temples are of timber, bound with three feet decorative cedar wood panels let into them at intervals of such beauty and grace that they can hardly be called folk art. The subjects are the major gods of the Hindu pantheon : Shiva and Parvati on Nandi, Vishnu and Lakshmi on Garuda, and several versions of Durga killing the buffalo demon.

Like temples, the temple treasury house called Bhandar is a characteristic feature of Himachal architecture. Morphologically, Bhandar and temple are closely related, each representing functionally differentiated aspects of the architecture of the Khashas. An excellent illustration of a medium sized Bhandar plan is provided by the Bhandar in the village of Nathar in Kulu valley known also as Nathar Bhandar.

WOODEN ART

The tradition of wood carving in Himachal Pradesh existed even in ancient times. Very few examples of ancient wood carving have survived except in some of the temples of Himalayan ranges. Early wooden-carved temples which have survived in the hilly areas of Himachal Pradesh are similar to the Gupta period temples in style. A study of early stone buildings however shows that many of the structural features are directly taken from the wodden models. The richness of wood-craft can still be seen in many of the later carvings to be found in temples, palaces and houses in the hills such as Chamba, Kulu, Mandi, upper Simla hills and in the Sutlej valley. The carved door and window frames, facades, balconies of temples, palaces and houses, carved panels, brackets and pillars are all reminiscent of wood carving. Besides architectural carvings there are also carvings or figures of gods and goddesses which speak of the mastery over the technique of carving.

In the absence of any epigraphical proof and archaeological survey it is not easy to draw a clear cut chronology of this art. Himachal Pradesh had, and still has, magnificent forests of Himalayan *Cedar Cedrus*, deodars; and its wood, if seasoned, is one of the most durable timbers in existence. But as compared with stone and metal its life is not so long. Heavy snow, rains and rough weather are some of the causes of the deterioration of the ancient masterpieces. When a carving gets decayed it is replaced by a replica, sometimes depicting the old motifs and sometimes introducing new ideas. Similarly when the wooden pent or Pagoda roofs start to rot they are replaced by new ones.

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The woods employed for both construction and decorative carving in Himachal Pradesh are deodar, pine, walnut, *shisham* and *tun*. The compositions have been greatly influenced by the grain of the timber employed, for instance, the deep undercutting is possible with the deodar and walnut and low relief only with shisham and *deodar*. Usually the hill artisan used *deodar* for his work, but sometimes also shisham or walnut. The important centres of wood carving in Himachal Pradesh are Chamba, Kulu, Kinnaur, and Simla hills.

From the very beginning of the 19th century this region was frequented by many European travellers : English, French, German, Dutch, Swedish, Greek, and Italian. They praised the wood carving on the sacred and domestic buildings and left interesting accounts of some of the monuments. James Ballie Fraser, a civilian with the army of General Martindale who entered the hills through Nahan in March 1815 and after crossing Chaur peak visited almost all the important places between Sirmur and Kinnaur, wrote in the *Journal of tour through parts of the Himala Mountain* about the wood carving he saw on the Bhawani temple in Majnee (now called Manan in Kumarsain). He writes, "The whole of the interior is sculptured over in wood, with infinite labour and probably forms a detail of the exploits of the deity, with these I am wholly unacquainted, but she seems to have been frequently engaged with monsters of very uninviting shapes. The portion of the carving, however, which neither represents the human nor animal figure, is by far the most beautiful. The whole roof, which is formed of fir wood, is richly cut into flowers and ornaments entirely in the Hindu taste, with a sharpness and precision, yet an ease that does honour to the mountain artist; and, considering his tools and materials, it is truly wonderful."

He has also praised the wood carving in the raja's palace at Rampur. He writes that "the apartments which are closed by screens of wood, finely cut into flowers and various figures, so as partially to admit the light without exposing those who are within".

"The roof in particular, attracted our attention from the tasteful way in which it was disposed. The slates were large, of a deep purplish blue, and placed with the utmost regularity; each cut square, and the joining covered with a long piece like an isosceles triangle with its base upwards, and the apex cut off below, rows were thus formed, and kept accurately straight. I never saw the best slating at home produce any thing like so good an effect. It was impossible to look at the carved ornaments in wood, the pillars, the screens, the cornices, or the smaller and nameless pieces that everywhere covered the walls in front, without being struck with admiration at the beauty of their execution. The wood used was wholly fir, of the same species; I believe it to be

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the larch; and we were told that the screens and most of the ornaments were imitations of those similar work in marble which beautify the palace at Dehlee. The interior, though corresponding more nearly than in the other palace with the beauty of the outside has nothing to merit description."

Among other important travellers Major Sir William Lloyd and Captain Alexander Gerard visited the Sutlej valley in May 1822. They also admired much the carving on a house at Gaura, and praised the taste, skill and execution of hill artists. Gen. Godfrey Charles Mundy, who was in the advance party of Lord Combermere's entourage, visited Deora, the metropolis of Jubbal, on 27th September, 1828. He states that "Deora is, as its name would imply, a place of some sanctity. There is a very pretty modern temple, much ornamented with carved woodwork".

Again Lt. Col. Sir Reginald Rankim who was on a tour in the Himalaya, saw some woodwork in Manali in Kulu. He was greatly impressed, and wrote in his travelogue named *A tour in the Himalayas and Beyond* (1930) that "These Indians are an artistic race. Their houses are wonderfully designed and carved, even the poorest have an eye to aesthetic effect. As in Japan, so here".

And not to be left behind a Greek writer Marco Polo who describes the wood work in a Kinnaur village in the following words : "Every house, as well as principal temple, is adorned with notable carvings in which unlike the wood work observed in the Ganges Valley, Mughal influence is hardly apparent. The style of design is based on square forms, and seemed to us to have a connection with that of the older Jain temples of the Northern India. The temple was a masterpiece of the wood workers craft, with rich floral devices, elegant verandahs and pierced panels. Round it hung a fringe of wooden drops, which produced a curious soft jingling in the wind, like the ghost of a xylophone".

At one time Jubbal was famous for woodwork and wood carving. The durbar hall of the Jubbal palace has intricate wood carving on the ceiling. In the hall there are two beautifully carved flower vases which were executed by a woman carver named Moti.

The most usual motifs in the decorative wood carving of Himachal Pradesh are the figures of local deities which are housed in the village temples, and wooden masks that are used for ritual dances. The masks found in the lower hills are simple and retain certain human characteristics. They have a touch of humour and an element of shyness. The intricate designs and patterns, figures of dancing girls, rider on a horse, hunter and lion, elephants, and birds are depicted on the windows, doorways, frames and facades.

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In Churhah areas of Chamba district you see simple decorations on the wooden boxes. The circle and the swirl as well as the spiral are common motifs in the low relief woodwork. In the interior regions of Chamba, Kulu, and Kinnaur wooden utensils are made.

METAL WORK

After woodwork the metal manufactures are perhaps the most important of all the art wares of India. It is not known how and when this art came into Himachal Pradesh. All that is certain is that prehistoric man wrought the images and symbols to pay his homage to the supreme power which seemed to him to govern the universe. These images and symbols are therefore the spontaneous expression of his joys and sorrows, hopes and fears.

There is as yet no consecutive account available of the centuries during which the transition took place from the prehistoric to the ancient and mediaeval world in the Punjab region. In the Shiwalik and the snow ranges there are numerous vestiges of ancient and the late Hindu civilization from Kushana and Gupta times up to the flourishing of Kangra art in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Since the villages were not much disturbed by the march of time, the traditions succeeded in retaining their ancient characteristics, and thus they can be traced back to the prehistoric times. The best representative of the ancient art tradition is metal art of that period. In certain remote villages, because of their geographical isolation, many kinds of art objects such as images and masks are still in existence and are in a fair state of preservation.

The large number of bronzes which are to be seen in the temples all over Himachal Pradesh bear witness to the remarkable maturity attained by this indigenous style. Generally they are small in size varying from one cm to 25 cms, only very few are bigger in size. Despite their small size, they are strong and well modelled. The images that are found in Himachal Pradesh are of two distinct styles : the three dimensional and two dimensional images and flat plaque-like images such as masks. Madanjit Singh quotes in *Himalaya Art* (1971) that "*the most typical of* the Siwalik's art forms, drawing their inspiration from the indigenous tradition of folk art, are the masks. These ageless images are undoubtedly the most fantastic and formidable art link in the entire Himalaya. The masks represent the Himalayan atmosphere of awe-inspiring mighty peaks and deep sounding river gorges of corie rustlings, of haunted forest leaves in the valleys and desert like mirages appearing among the giant mountain landscapes. When

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the cult of Devi captured the people's imagination and more and more temples were erected in almost every hamlet these masks were in great demand because the local temples which could not afford to commission a complete idol of the goddess could still do her honour through such symbols. With the passage of time, the practice became a custom so that even when the temples were more prosperous and their imagery more resplendent, masks still occupied the principal altar and were no longer made of wood or clay, as in the past, but cast or beaten in metals such as copper, silver and even gold".

Dr. Hermann Goetz writes in the *Encyclopedia of World Art* (Volume IX, 1969) that "In Kulu and the adjoining Hindu parts of the Himalaya, where Yaksha cult is still alive, these deities (devatas called *Bira*, from Skt. *Vira*, Hero; or Brahms) are venerated in the form of brass or silver masks mounted on poles and hung with rags. Inscriptions show that some of these deities were regarded as heroes of epic times (e.g. Hidimba, an Apasra mentioned in the *Mahabharata*), deceased princes and princesses (e.g. Mujani Devi, Queen of Raja Hemaprakasha of Nirmand, 9th-10th century) or even orthodox Hindu gods such as Mahadeo-Shiva and Chamunda-Kali".

The importance of these hill masks becomes all the greater as a number of them are inscribed and dated, and thus they provide us with very valuable documentation. They give us an insight into the styles and influences that prevailed at a particular time and also give us the dates and names of some of the rulers of the region.

The oldest known masks, at present in Kulu, is one about which we have already mentioned above. It is a very fine and beautiful mask of Manjni Devi at Nirmand dating from the 9th century, a rare and splendid example of its craft, while the earliest inscribed and dated mask is the mask of (Hirma) Hidimba Devi at Manali bearing the date 1418 A.D. in the reign of raja Udhran Pal. Another is the mask of Vishnu at Sajle, Kothi Barsai dated 1500 A.D. in the reign of raja Sidh Pal. There are a number of other inscribed and dated masks, but they are of later periods, mostly of the 17th and 18th centuries.

The masks are usually hollow relief busts of deities of different sizes, cast and chased by local craftsmen in the shape of plaques that are carried on parasol-mounted palanquins and portable altars during festivals, sometimes a large number of masks being fixed on to the sloping front portion of the shrine. These are very typical features of the hill art of Himachal Pradesh and the adjacent areas and often exhibit all the characteristic peculiarities of local style and traditions. They are made of bronze or

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silver, with conventional designs and ornamented sometimes with inlays of other metals and seldom with stones like coral and turquoise.

IDOLS

The next main style in metal sculptures in Himachal Pradesh is solid cast bronze idols. This style probably developed after the mask industry, when the metal was available in sufficient quantity for purposes other than domestic uses. This stage can safely be placed in the mediaeval period. While the metal masks were a product of beating or raising process, the metal statues were made by solid or hollow casting, also termed lost wax process. The images were cast in local style by the local artisans either for the village temples or private worship at home. These images may best be studied with reference to the temples they adorn. These medieval sculptures were influenced, as time passed, more by religious ideas than by aesthetic forms. Sometimes they seem ugly and even horrible to the modern eye, though they represent faithfully some religious concept. In the later period they were influenced by tantrik ideas. The sculptures of these areas have a primitive force and simplicity of expression. The Devi with a *trishul* (trident) in her hand treads the buffalo demon under her feet, as the lion, her *vahana*, springs from her loins with his one forepaw digging into the demon's thigh while the other is placed on the *trishul*. In another depiction of the Devi, she is shown as the powerful Mahishasurmardani. The whole plaque is dominated by her eight arms and the mask-like face bearing a *tilak* (mark on the forehead) in the form of a third eye. The body practically merges into the demoniac buffalo. The lion or tiger, her *vahana*, is seen in a corner with a fierce face accentuating the mood.

Durga is also shown riding a lion. This type of image is found all over the Hindu Himalaya. Images of Vishnu with his consorts are fairly common. They are generally found in Chamba and Kangra. As compared to the masks they are not so common, but whatever they are, the most notable among these are two images of Bhima Kali of Sarahan in Rampur-Bashahr with four arms. As already mentioned, in general appearance these idols are crude, distorted and grotesque, and have, therefore, no claim whatever to beauty. But they have a great place in the evolution of local art. These indigenous images are quite different from the classical ones. The indigenous idols are generally found in village temples whereas classical idols are found in the temples located in historical places or towns.

The Himachal artists did not confine themselves to the making of only masks and images. They also made silver umbrellas, silver staffs, temple utensils, lamps, and musical instruments which are required for use in temples. The most popular musical

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instruments are *ransingha*, *karnal*, *bam*, *dhol*, and *nagara*. *Ransingha* is a large S-shaped trumpet. This forms an essential part of every ceremony. It is with the loud gay notes of this trumpet which resounds all over the valley that any festival starts. The *parnal* is a long pipe has a small opening for the mouth and ends in a flower-like trumpet. Very delicate relief work is done all over the body of these musical instruments. Rich temples have instruments made of silver.

The making of artistic objects in stone has been known in Himachal Pradesh for centuries. Examples of this kind of art are the superb reliefs on the walls of temples and old palaces and intricate floral carvings on doorframes, pillars and arches of palaces and temples. The passion for stone carving reached its peak at the close of the 18th century. There are many evidences that sculptures were once generally cultivated, and there are instances which evince considerable skill both in the manipulation and pose of the figure to be seen in the numerous temples. Several stone sculptures were carved in the mediaeval period in a pure indigenous style for temples. These depict Hindu as well as local pantheons for worship. The sculptures were carved out by the local artists. They are crude but sometimes the treatment is so spontaneous that the images appear to be the abstract works of art.

BARSELAS

Reference must have been made to the Sati monuments of the rajas of former hill states of Himachal Pradesh. The custom of erecting stone pillars, like tombstones, as memorials to the dead, prevailed all over the inner hills, but in Mandi, Suket, Kulu, and Bilaspur, the custom was regarded as a royal privilege. In ancient times it was customary among the ranas. In most parts of the hills these pillars are only rough slabs set on end, with very primitive representations of the deceased cut on them. In Mandi, however, they are of a more, elaborate character, and adorned with ornamental carvings. Most of them have an inscription in the *tankri* character, and are dated in the *Lokakala* or era of the Seven Rishis which from remote times has been current in the hills.

The Sati pillars of the Mandi rajas and their families, locally known as *barselas*, stand in a group on a plot of ground on the left bank of the Suketi, below the road to Sundernagar. Some of them are two to three mts high and all are carved with figures of the deceased rajas and of the women who became *sati* with them. Each Raja is represented as seated above with a row of ranis or queens, also seated, immediately below, still lower are standing figures of *khawasis* or concubines and *rakhalis* or slave girls. The inscription records the name of the raja and the date of his death, as

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also the number of queens, concubines and slave girls who were burnt with him. The monuments help us to fix with certainty the date of each raja's demise and the accession of his successor from Hari Sen 1637 A.D. to the present time.

In Kulu near the castle at Nagar there is an enclosure on the left and below the level of the road is a collection of upright stone slabs which, according to Kulu history, are memorial stones of dead rulers. These stones are ornamented with crude carvings of the chiefs of Kulu and their wives and concubines are portrayed either beside or below them. One raja is mounted on a horse and holds a sword in his hand. History records that these stones were placed in position after the death of each raja, and that the female figures are effigies of wives and ministers who performed *sati* after the demise of their ruler. The custom of erecting these carved memorial stones (*Barselas*) was not confined to the raja of Kulu. Near Jagat Sukh at Aleo there is also a group of ten rough memorial stones almost devoid of carving and vastly inferior to the Barselas of Mandi and Nagar. A similar custom prevailed in other hill states. In some stones the carvings are more elaborate and a few also bear inscriptions.

FOUNTAIN STONES

A very important subdivision of this class are the large carved fountain slabs, numerous in certain parts of Chamba, and apparently peculiar to this region of Himachal Pradesh. The only place outside Chamba, where such stones are found is Sisu on the Chandra river in Lahaul. They were first noticed by Mooreroft on his journey to Bukhara. "Between the first and second village of Sisu", he says, "we crossed the Sisu river, a narrow torrent rushing down with a force which must wear away the most compact rock. Growing near it was a variety of current which I had observed at Niti. On the summit of the ascent from the water a flat stone, sculptured with figures and flowers, was set up on the right of the path".

In Pangi and Churah, such stones are in great number. The fountain slabs of the Ravi valley are usually carved with numerous rows of figures. Among these we find Vishnu sleeping on the serpent Sheshanaga, Lakshmi holding his feet, and the four-faced Brahma seated on a lotus rising from the naval of Vishnu. As the sleep of the Sun-god takes place in the rainy season, the scene is very appropriately chosen. Other common objects are the *nav grahas* (planets) and the ten *avataras* or incarnations of Vishnu. The figures in the lower rows which are shown in the act of worshipping the linga probably represent the donors of the sculptures. On the large slabs of Pangi and Churah also we find commonly the upper portion occupied by rows of figures both

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of deities and humans. Among the former Varuna, the god of water, in whose honour the stone was erected, takes a prominent place. On the Salhi stone we find Shiva in the centre of the upper row, between Varuna, Indra, Ganesha and Kartikeya, each seated on his particular Vahana and marked with an inscription. In the middle of the slab is a representation of Vishnu's sleep—a subject which, as just noted, frequently occurs on the fountain stone of the Ravi valley. The rest of the Salhi stone is occupied by eight female figures personifying the great rivers of northern India. The name of each river is inscribed on the water-vessel which the figures hold in one hand.

At Sai also in a slab each of the figure is named, but there only the upper row consists of divinities, the lower portion being reserved for human beings. Among the latter we find the person portrayed, for the sake of whose bliss the stone was set up. On the Naghai slab the deities are apparently mixed up with mortals, and here the figures are not marked with their names. It is possible that one of the figures represents rani Mekhala, who is mentioned in the inscription. On the stones, which, judging from their inferior workmanship, belong to a later date, we find Varuna, still occupying his place of honour, but for the rest such stones are carved with clumsy figures of armed horsemen, archers, swordsmen and female water-carriers. Examples of this kind are the Batrundi and Nal stones in the Chamba Museum, both of which bear fragmentary inscriptions.

On most fountain slabs we find, besides figures, a fair amount of ornamental carvings. Among these the eight petalled lotus-rosette is most prominent. On each side of the square hole intended to receive the water-spout there is often a dwarf-pilaster of very curious design. Two rows of figures are frequently separated by bands of ornamental scroll-work and the whole of the carvings are usually enclosed within leaf and rope borders.

Among the fountain sculptures of Chamba, there are several which do not contain any figures but are purely decorative. Usually the surface is divided into square panels, each provided with a conventional lotus. The slabs of this type are the earliest in date. The fountain slab, erected in the year of Asata's accession (c. 1070 A.D.) is carved with decorative bands, and does not bear any figures except the figure of Varuna and a pair of interlaced birds.

On the Lug stone of the year (1106 A.D.), we find a nearly equal division of figures and decorative devices. Among the former we notice the horseman who regularly appears on the fountain slabs of a more decadent and presumably later type. That of Loh-Tikri, also of Jasata's reign, has only a lotus-rosette and decorative borders. On the two specimens of the reign of Lalita-Verman—these of Salhi and

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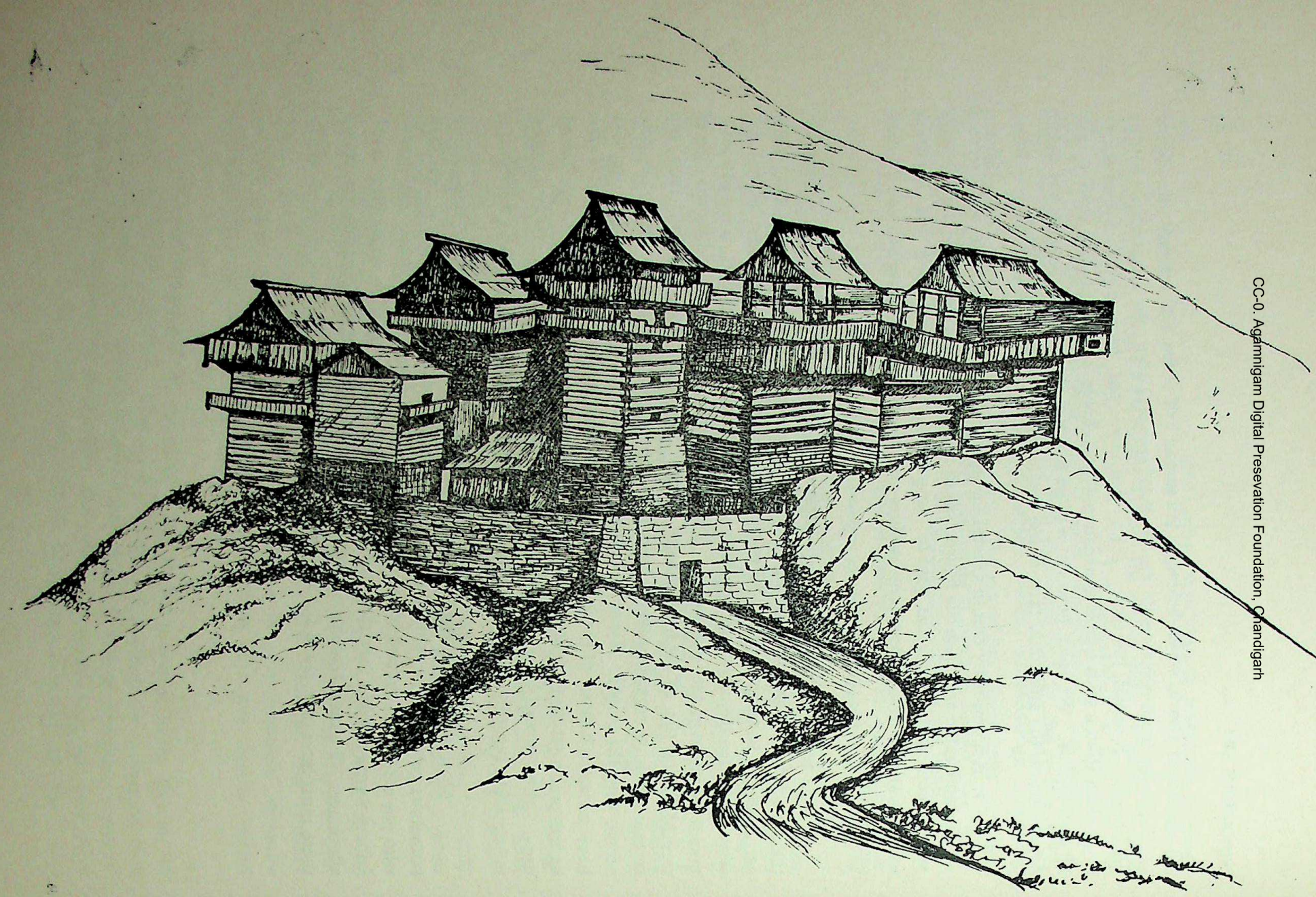
Sai, described above, which belong to the second half of the 12th century—the figures are decidedly more prominent. On the Salhi specimen even the ornamental borders are absent. It would, therefore, seem that there has been a gradual development from plain stones, with simple conventional lotus-flowers to the elaborate slabs crowded with figures. We must, however, assume that the nature of the carvings was largely dependent on the individual taste of the donor and the skill of the sculptor.

It is noteworthy that in general the purely decorative carvings are executed with considerable skill than the figures, which are conspicuous chiefly for their clumsy appearance, rigid attitude and want of proportion. For this reason the specimens which bear exclusively decorative carvings are, from an artistic point of view, the most satisfactory.

As to the purpose of these fountain slabs, the inscriptions leave no doubt that their erection was looked upon less as a work of general utility than as a meritorious act, designed to secure future bliss to the founder and his relatives. The person for whose sake the stone was set up, either a deceased wife or a husband, was often mentioned by name in the inscription. Thus the Naghai stone was erected for the sake of rani Makhala, that of Sai for Ranautra Phahi. Nor does there seem to exist any certain tradition regarding their origin, date and purpose. Sometimes they are connected with the Nagas. These at Trilokinath in Lahaul are locally asserted to have bene set up in honour of the Naga. Sometimes these huge stones with their quaint figures and mysterious characters—unintelligible even to the learned pandit—are looked upon with superstitions and dread, and the villagers are often reluctant to give information regarding their locations for fear that some evil may spring from them.

Most of them belong to a time when Churah and Pangi were inhabited by numerous petty ranas or chieftains dependent on the raja of Chamba. It was they who got these slabs erected on which their names and those of their fathers and grandfathers were recorded together with the names of the rajas to whom they owed allegiance. We may, therefore, assume that at most places where fountain-slabs occur, there must have once stood the stronghold of a chieftain.



A typical example of Pahari architecture—The Jubbal palace, a part of which still exists.
Sketch : O.C. Handa from Jacquemont's **'Letters from India** 1829-1832'.

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Chapter Three

INDO-ARYAN ART

The tradition of Indian art and culture goes back to the third millennium B.C. One of the most important early cultures was that of the Indus valley, which lasted until the second millennium. The art was closely linked either with the religious belief and worship of the people or to the practical necessities of life. In the fifteenth century B.C. the Aryans from the interior of Asia, occupied nearly the whole of north India, overwhelming the local population by their advanced methods of warfare. The Aryan period approximately extends from 1400 B.C. to 750 A.D., that is, until the rise of the Medieval Hindu phase. During this long stable period India witnessed a succession of rulers, the introduction of various religions like Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism and, above all, the development of a mature art that is called the Indo-Aryan art. Of the three religions Buddhism was certainly the most important and it inspired great artistic creations.

During this period of Indian history many kingdoms rose and fell. One of these was the Maurya (322-185 B.C.). The most famous Mauryan king was Asoka (273-232 B.C.), who is best known for his great zeal for promoting the religion of Buddhism. At the conclusion of the third Buddhist Council which was held in his time Buddhist monks of repute were chosen and sent as missionaries to the Himalayan regions. Amongst these were Majjhantika and Majjhima. The former was sent to Kashmir and Gandhara, the latter to other Himalayan regions.

The mission to the Himalayan region was a large one, and consisted of a team of four monks : Kassapagotta, Dhundibhissara, Sahadeva, and Mulakadeva. Some of the relic caskets from Sanchi contain a few of these names.

The oldest artistic records, which date from after the Aryan invasion, belong to Asoka's reign. He built a large number of stupas and several Buddhist burial monuments. During his reign stone gradually replaced wood for building and, in fact, the history of Indian art really begins with the appearance of these early stone monuments.

Asoka built a large number of stupas, most of which were at Sanchi and

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Bharhut. Hiuen Tsang (630-645 A.D. in India) mentions about the existence of a stupa in the Kulu Valley. He says that "In the middle of the Kulu country is a stupa built by Ashoka-raja. Of old the Tathagata came to this country with his followers to preach law and to save men. This stupa is a memorial of the traces of his presence."

About Srughna somewhere near Sirmur, he also writes that "to the south-west of the capital of Srughna and west of the river Yamuna is a Sangharama, outside the eastern gate of which is a stupa built by Asoka-raja. The Tathagata, when in the world in former days, preached the law in this place to convert men. By its side is another stupa in which there are relics of the Tathagata's hair and nails. Surrounding this on the right and left are stupas enclosing the hair and nail relics of Sariputra and of Maudgalyayana and other Arhats, several tons in weight." Some say that this place is near Kalsi, in the Jaunsar-Bawar area, to the east of Sirmur. Kalsi is famous for Asoka's edicts.

Another object of artistic interest is the stone pillar bearing the edicts of Asoka in Pali. This pillar was originally situated in a village called Tobra in Khizrabad district from which it was taken to Delhi by Firoz Shah Tuglak in 1356 A.D. Alexander Cunningham writes that the village from where it was brought was perhaps the present Paonta on the western bank of Yamuna and 19 kms in a direct line to the north-east of Khizrabad. Paota or Paonta is now a part of Sirmur district of Himachal Pradesh. In its immediate neighbourhood, at a distance of 106 kms. from Thanesar, was situated the ancient capital of Srughna having large number of stupas of the time of Asoka as described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. The village Tobra, which was the original site of Feroz Shah's pillar, was certainly within the limits of the ancient kingdom of Srughna. Asoka's missionaries were responsible for preaching Buddhism and taking the Indo-Aryan art into the Himachal valleys and other parts of Himalayas. Since his time Buddhism and the Indo-Aryan art rapidly spread and developed.

In the centuries following the Mauryan age, a number of kingdoms, both large and small, in the northern and central India, at different times influenced the development of art in the Himalayas. This includes the vast Kushana empire (50 B.C.-210 A.D.). The most outstanding ruler among them, Kaniska became an ardent Buddhist. His authority extended from the central Asia to Mathura, where idols of the Buddha were made for the first time in the first century A.D. Among the first to receive the benefit of this new artistic ideal were the artists belonging to the territories of the western Himalayas, because Mathura was an important mercantile and cultural centre which was joined by the 'great royal highway' to the high road from Central Asia.

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Kangra, the ancient Trigarta, is rich in antiquarian remains belonging to this period. The earliest in the rock inscriptions of Pathiar and Kanhiara though of the same type, are probably separated by some four centuries. The Pathiar inscription, which for palaeographic reasons may be assigned to the third or second century B.C. records the construction of a tank by a person called Vayula, curiously a foreign name ending in *la*, like Kujula, Wulfila etc. The Kanhiara inscription is dated from the second century A.D. It mentions the foundation of an *Arama*, a monastery, by an individual named Krishnayasa. The interesting point regarding these two epigraphs is that each of them is written in two different scripts, viz., the ancient Brahmi from which all the later Indian alphabets have been derived, and the Kharoshthi which was used in the Punjab region.

Undoubted Buddhist remains have been found at two places in the Kangra, viz., at Cheri situated 12 kms to the east of Nagarkot, and just 1.5 kms to the north-east of Nagrota and at Chetru, 9 kms from Bhagsu and 8 kms from Nagrota. At Cheri were found the foundation of a temple built of large sized stones which were fastened together with iron clamps. An inscribed pedestal which must have supported once the image of the bear-headed goddess Marichi of Vajravarahi (the She-bear of the Thunder-bolt) proves that the temple in question must have been a Buddhist shrine. The inscription which has no date, may be attributed to the 5th-6th century A.D.

The remains of Chetru consist of the ruins of a Mahayana stupa, locally knwn as Bhim Tila and measuring some 249 metres in circumference, situated at the confluence of the Manji and the Gurlu Nala. The Buddhist character of this monument appears from the discovery of a Buddha image and a detached Buddha head now preserved in the Lahore Museum. Neither of these sculptures betrays any great skill or artistic merit.

An object of excellent workmanship is the Buddhist statuette (height nearly 30 cm.) wrought in brass and inlaid with other material which was obtained from *dharamsala* at Fatehpur in the Nurpur tehsil. It is preserved in Lahore Museum in Pakistan. The elaborate pedestal bears a dedicatory inscription, from the character of which it may be concluded that the image belongs to the 6th century A.D. But in case of a portable object like the present it is impossible to tell whether it originally belonged to the district in which it was discovered.

The most interesting object of art of this period is a *lota* (pot) which is now in the Indian Museum. It was discovered by Major Hay, in 1857 at Kundlah in Kulu, where a landslip had exposed it in an ancient Buddhist cell in which this *lota* had been lying buried for 1,500 years, for it is attributed by oriental scholars to some date in

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200-300 A.D. It is exactly of the shape now made and is enchased all around with a representation of Gautama Buddha, as Prince Sidharatha, before his conversion, going in some state procession. An officer of the state riding an elephant goes before, the minstrels, two damsels, one playing on a *Vina* and the other on a flute, follow. In the midst is seen Prince Sidharatha in his chariot drawn by four prancing horses, and guarded by two horsemen, all rendered with great abandon.

Of great historic value are the 384 copper coins of which forty coins are of Kaniska found on the Kalka-Kasauli road and two those of Wema Kadphises. These coins speak of the Kushana influence. With the disappearance of the Kushana we come to the close of the old phase of Indian artistic tradition.

In the period now beginning, we witness the blossoming of an aesthetic consciousness in which the established tradition finds its most supreme expression. This period has been described as the Golden Age of the Guptas. As a cultural epoch the period of the Guptas is extended to include the reign of Harshavardhana of Thaneshwar (606-647 A.D.) under whom Gupta civilization recovered for a while following the interregnum after an invasion by the Huns. Gupta period was characterised by the decay of Buddhism as a popular creed and by a vigorous Hindu renaissance. Judging from the survival of these, it would appear that about this time the types of permanent buildings which had been originally evolved for Buddhist use began to be adopted for Hindu worship. The period is often described as one of the revival of Brahamanism. High Gupta art was mainly a product of the aristocratic upper classes (*Nagarika* in the great cities that is, *Nagaras*) and therefore, was called "*Nagara*", a term later applied also to northern Indian mediaeval architecture including the architecture of Himachal Pradesh. Its ideals were shaped by the princes and rich connoisseurs and by the courtesan-actresses, dancers, musicians, poets and scholars. It was thus a highly conscious art, disciplined and learned, comprehensive and elaborate. But it had strong roots in the rising folk cults and in the tradition of the well-to-do lower-middle class population.

Indian art in the Himalaya has been a late comer. In olden times the inhabitants of the Himalaya were regarded as degraded Kshatriyas and out-castes who did not take part in the orthodox Hindu cults and customs. In consequence the influence of Indian art was feeble in Himachal Pradesh, and archaic forms persisted much longer here than elsewhere in the country.

With the death of Harsha in 647 A.D. the Golden Age of Indian art came to an end. Next to the new Hindu age came the Rajput age. The most prominent feature of this transitional period is the rise of the Rajput class. Henceforth the

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Rajputs began to play a prominent part in the art and history of northern India. Most of the new states took shape during the 8th and 9th centuries under chiefs belonging to various Rajput clans, who claimed to be the successors to the Kshatriyas of ancient times. The whole period between the death of Harsha and the coming of the Muslim at the close of the 12th century, comprising about five and a half centuries, may be called the Rajput period.

In this period Rajput kingdoms rose and fell. North India was a turbulent sea of political change. Some of the kingdoms attained the dignity of empires and some of the kings, the status of legendary heroes. Such empires were those of Yasoverman of Kanauj, Gurjara-Pratihars who rose in the 8th century and ruled from Kanauj in the 8th and 10th centuries and the Pala kings of Bengal and Bihar who controlled Bengal and Bihar in the 9th and 10th centuries, and Rashtrakutas from the south. There were many others, who in their hay days overran the whole country up to the Himalayas and planted their kith and kin to look after their conquests. They invited their clansmen from the plains. The artists and artisans also migrated with them. Thus the Rajputs were partly responsible for the introduction of the post-Gupta art forms in this region. With the passage of time the original inhabitants took over this art from the immigrants and executed it in the form of beautiful temples and sculptures still extant all over Himachal Pradesh.

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

A considerable number of *Nagara*, also called *Shikhara* temples, is found in the Himachal valleys. It is not possible to give consecutive historical treatment to each and every temple in a work of the present dimensions. All that can be done is to describe the more important buildings, dating for the most part after eighth and before thirteenth century A.D. under the headings of the various sites where they are found and with some account of the sculpture.

These *Nagara* temples are executed in two styles. The one that consists of a single cella in which the image is placed and have no ante-room, called *Mandapa*, as in Mani-Mahesh temple of Brahmaur in Chamba. They are entered through an ornamental porch usually supported by two pillars or without. The other type of temples are those that have pillared halls called *Mandapa*. The image is placed in the inner cella. Such temples are of Baijnath in Kangra built in 1204 A.D. and Panchavaktra, Trilokinath and Ardh-narishwar temples of Mandi built in the 16th century. A peculiar feature of the *Nagara* temple in Chamba and other hill tracts is the umbrella-shaped covering of wood or zinc-sheet placed over and around the

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sun-disc called *Amalaka* stone which forms the top of the spire. This awkward form served the useful purpose of protecting the building against heavy snowfall, and would alone suffice to show that the *Nagara* temple orginated in the plains, and was introduced in Himachal Pradesh at a comparatively late date.

Masrur Temple

In the Himalayan region the earliest specimen of the *Nagara* design is possibly represented by a series of monolithic temples at Masrur in Kangra. These temples are cut out of the rock and reproduce the characteristics of the early *Nagara* temple. These probably belong to the eight century and were first noticed by H.L. Shuttleworth, I.C.S. in 1913, and subsequently surveyed by H. Hargreaves of the Archaeological Survey of India. The temples of Masrur are especially remarkable, because rock-hewn shrines, so common in western and southern India, are wholly unknown in the Himalayan regions. They form a group of fifteen shrines of the wall known *Sikhara* type of Indo-Aryan architecture, profusely decorated with sculptural ornaments. The main shrine is known as Thakurdwara (the name by which Vishnu temples are generally designated) and contains three stone images, said to represent Rama, Lakshmna, and Sita. But these were recently introduced. The presence of the figure of Shiva, in the centre of the lintel of the main shrine, affords a strong proof that the temple was originally dedicated to Mahadeva. There is no inscription to fix the date of execution of the Masrur temple, but on the evidence of the style, Hargreaves concludes that the monument can hardly be assigned to an earlier date than the eighth century of our era and may possibly be of somewhat later date.

Baijnath Temple

One of the most remarkable monuments of the Beas valley is the temple of Baijnath which is about 36 kms east of Kangra. Baijnath is, in reality, an appellation of the chief temple dedicated to Shiva Vaidyanath (Lord of Physicians) by which the village itself has become known. The original name of the village was Kiragrama. This we learn from the two extensive Sharda inscriptions incised on stone slabs which in an elegant Sanskrit verse give the history of the foundation of the temple by two local merchant brothers. Manyuka and Ahuka, under Rana Lakshmanachandra, Lord of Kirgrama, and apparently brother-in-law of Jayachandra, king of Jalandhara or Trigarta. The date is partly obliterated, but in all probability it was equivalent to 1204 A.D. It is interesting to find that the architects, Nayaka and Thedhuka who worked under the guidance of Somu, employed by the two merchants, came from Kangra town.

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The Baijnath temple is orientated due west. It consists of a *Puri* or adytum, 2.40 metres square inside and 5.40 metres outside, surmounted by a spire of the usual conical shape, and of a *Mandapa* or front hall, 6 metres square inside, covered with a low pyramid shaped roof. The adytum which contains the Linga known as Vaidyanath is entered through a small ante-room with two pillars, in antic. The roof of the *Mandapa* is supported by four massive pillars connected by raised benches which form, as it were, a passage leading up to the entrance of the sanctum. The architraves resting on these pillars divide the space of the ceiling into compartments, each of which is closed by means of corbelling slabs.

In front of the *Mandapa* rises a stately porch resting on four columns. "The shafts of the Pillars," Fergusson remarks, "are plain cylinders, of very classical proportions and the bases also show that they are only slightly removed from classical design. The square plinth, the two toruses, the cavatto or hollow moulding between are all classical, but partially hidden by Hindu ornamentation, of great elegance but unlike anything found afterwords." The capitals of the pot-and-foliage type are discussed by the same author at considerable length.

The north wall of the *Mandapa* is adorned with a graceful balcony window. The four corners are strengthened by means of massive buttress-like projections in the shape of half engaged miniature *shikhara* temples, each containing two niches in which image slabs are placed. Smaller niches in slightly projected chapels are found between the corner projections and the entrance and balcony windows.

The outer walls of the sanctum are enriched with three pillared niches closed to projecting chapels, each flanked by two niches of smaller size. The central niche in the east wall contains an image of the Sun-God, Surya, wearing a laced jacket. It is placed on a marble pedestal which originally must have belonged to a figure of the Jain Mahavira as appears from a Nagari inscription dated in the Vikrama year 1296 (1240 A.D.).

It was assumed by Cunningham and Fergusson that the Baijnath temple underwent a thorough restoration at the hands of Raja Sansar Chand Katoch (1775-1823 A.D.). But Sir Aurel Stein who had the advantage of personally inspecting the temple in December 1892, expressed the opinion that the building "has not undergone such very great alterations as the earlier describers state." He points out that the doorway of the adytum is still decorated with the image of the river goddesses mentioned in the inscription. Only the roofs seem to be modern, and it is said that it was renovated in the days of Raja Sansar Chand II.

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There are many *Nagara* type temples in Kangra valley, but worth mentioning are Lakshmi-Narayana, Sitala, and Ambika Devi temples of Kangra Fort, Indreshvara in Kangra town; and Vajreshvari or Mata Devi temple at Bhawan near Kangra town. The latter was built in the reign of Raja Sansar Chand (1429-50 A.D.). It is not possible to describe all the temples.

Chamba Temples

At Chamba there are, again, several temples of early *Nagara* form in which an advancement of the design is noticed in the *Pancharatha* plan which characterises each one of them. In the larger temples the *Bada* is divided into five segments along the vertical axis, also representing an advancement over the early form and this feature connects them with the development of the *Nagara* style as found in Orissa, while a shallow string-course round the *Amalakasila* is a feature which is particularly Rajput in occurrence. Further, an impact of the hill tradition is recognized in a few of the Chamba temples in the two superimposed parasols, over the one *Gandi* the other over the *Amalaka*, each resting on a framework of wood and covered by thin slabs of slate. In the hills such a contrivance is a necessary feature, being eminently suitable for draining off the snow, and is to be found also in the temples of Kedaranatha and Badrinatha in the snowy heights of the Himalayas.

In Chamba town there is a group of six stone temples, arranged in a row from north to south. Three of these temples are dedicated to Vishnu and three to Shiva. The northernmost is that of Lakshmi-Narayan or Lakshmi Nath, the principal temple of Chamba. It contains an image of white marble adorned with golden ornaments. The temple is said to have been founded by Sahila Verman (920-40 A.D.) shortly after the foundation of the town, and the marble of the image is believed to have been brought from the Vindhayas by his son Yugakara. Of the other five temples of this group they are of Chandra Gupta and Trimukha, both *Linga* shrines ascribed to Sahila Verman, and that of Gauri-Shankar with a brass image attributed to Yugakara (c. 940-60 A.D.).

Near the Chaugan gate, there is another Vishnu temple known by the name of Hari Raj. It is profusely decorated with carvings. From an inscription, it appears that this temple was erected in the second half of 11th century by one Lakshmana Verman, who was probably a scion of the ruling house in the time of Raja Asta (1080 A.D.).

The other temples in Chamba town and around are : Bansi Gopal, founded in 1595, Vajreshvari temple outside the town remarkable for its five sculptures and

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Champavati temple. These temples have their importance in the history of Chamba temples.

The *Nagara* temples beyond these in the town are not many. At Brahmaur, the ancient capital, there are two temples of this type. The larger of the two is dedicated to Shiva under the name of Mani-Mahesh. This is a monumental stone temple with a high beehive *Shikhara* of the middle Pratihara type, decorated with hardly any sculpture. It is very similar to the earliest temples of Chamba town, and, like them, had been built by Sahilaverman (c. 920-40). But the king had merely rebuilt it in the style of his age, an early wooden *Mandapa* temple of Meruverman as is evident from the brass of Shiva's bull, Nandi, which still stands under a wooden roof in front of the Mani-Mahesh and bears an inscription of Meru-Varman (c. 680 A.D.). The earlier wooden structure was destroyed by the Tibetan.

The other *Nagara* temple of Brahamaur, smaller in size and simple in appearance is Narsingh temple. It was erected by Tribhavanarekha Devi, the queen of Raja Yugakar-Verman (c. 940-60) for an image which, though not as early as Meru-Verman's time, seems to go back at least to the reign of Ajya-Verman (c. 760).

In the Chandrabhanga Valley (Chamba-Lahaul) only one temple of the *Nagara* type is found. It is the famous sanctuary at Trilokinath, "the lord of the three World" which is another name for Avalokiteshvara the popular Bodhisattava. It is probably, with the Bodhi temple at Gaya, the only Buddhist shrine in India which has remained Buddhist up to the present day. Hermann Goetz writes in his treatise *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba* (1955) that "this temple goes back to Lalitaditya's time but was transformed into a Buddhist shrine by Padmasambhava at the end of the same century, and was rebuilt and repaired several times, its present Lamaistic image of Avalokiteshvara Trilokinath cannot be earlier than the 12th century."

It is of special interest to note that the Trilokinath temple is a purely Indian type and must, therefore, be regarded as a monument of Indian Buddhism. It is curious that it is still known by the same name of *Bihar*, a derivation of Sanskrit *Vihara.*

The body of the temple is built of stone, the spire of *Shikhara* being of small partly moulded bricks. The porch, supported by two graceful pillars with fluted shafts, is profusely adorned with carvings. Unfortunately the appearance of the edifice has been completely spoiled owing to the having been encased in a clumsy, shed-like structure, which forms an ante-room in front, and at the same time provides a procession-path round the temple. The whole has moreover been thickly whitewashed so as to conceal the traces of decay.

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The *Shikhara* temple contains an image of Bodhisattva Trilokinath or Avalokiteshvara. The image is artistically carved in white marble and represents the figure of a man seated cross legged, with six arms, three on each side. One right hand is in the gift bestowing attitude, one of the left hands holds a lotus, the typical attribute of this Bodhisattva; on his head he wears the effigy of his spiritual father, the Buddha of Boundless light that is, Amitabha. The image is about 90 cms in height.

Kulu Temples

The temple of Basheshwar Mahadev (Visveshwara) at Hat, Bajaura is one of the most ancient and finest shrines in the Kulu Valley. It is constructed entirely of stone and is a shikhara temple dedicated to Shiva. The temple undoubtedly constitutes one of the finest monuments of the Western Himalayas, and is a unique example of the later Gupta tradition. The structure is a protected monument, and has been in its present dilapidated condition for many years. The hand of the man is responsible for the mutilation of the statuary which occurred probably in an invasion of Kulu by Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra about 1769-70.

The temple consists of a squat bulging tower with an Amalaka stone (Sun-disc) on the top. The outer surface of it is covered with carvings or architectural motives above and decorative motives below, the familiar pot and foliage pattern being frequently repeated. All the architectural details of the temple are well designed and balanced. A feature of this temple are the four large projecting chapel porches at the four sides of the *Shikhara*. On the top of each porch is a triplet of miniature shrines surmounted by a triple face or Trimurti, which is common in the hills, and represents the Trimurti of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, or the triple form of Shiva alone. There is no pillared hall (*Mandapa*) attached to this or to any other of the ancient temples of Kulu, whereas their counterparts in Baijnath or Mandi mostly have them.

The sanctum is a small one, only measuring 2.59 mts. by 2.18 mts., the thick walls bringing the outside measurements to 4 mts. square. The figures representing the Ganga and the Yamuna river-goddesses on the left and the right sides respectively, as the door is entered on the south side is Ganesh, on the west Vishnu and on the south Durga. The image-slabs in the three niches on the north, west and south are 1.6 mts in height and all have the common feature of a flaming halo behind the main figure; and the triple pointed diadems on the figures of Vishnu and Durga (Mahishasurmardani) are also repeated on the river goddess statues at the doorway. The figure of Durga represents the triumph of good over evil. Here at Bajaura, Durga wears the triple pointed crown edged with beading, characteristic of hill deities, and a large aureole (symbol of her sanctity) surrounds her head.

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A number of temples can be seen at Nagar, the ancient capital of Kulu, but the temples at Nagar are mostly of later date and not of the same merit having been restored and rebuilt, though the foundations of some of them are undoubtedly of considerable age. Thus the temple of Murli-Dhar at Thawa is built over Gupta foundations, but of that period only the plinths remain. The temple of Gauri-Shanker below the Nagar castle is of an earlier date, but it has also been restored. Some ornamental stone details and columns belonging to the old structure can be seen nearby. This temple has a comparatively simple *Shikhara*, and the side chapels or porches have been already reduced to small fist niches, the ornamentation is also much simpler. The entablature over the entrance has fine small chapels of which the central one is the largest, and the Trimurti motif over the entrance is enclosed in a simplified arch. An *Amalaka* stone crowns the edifice. The whole structure is divided horizontally into eleven progressively diminishing successive bands of elements separated by simple projecting horizontal cornice bands. A stone Nandi faces the entrance of the temple.

An important Gauri-Shanker temple can be seen at Dashal. It is also a protected monument, a fine example of *Shikhara* architecture and is in good condition. The outer walls are enriched by numerous reliefs of the deities, Channas and beautiful ornamental details. An interesting feature is the figure of a lion in a sitting posture above the *Chaitya* arch containing the Trimurti head over the entrance to the temple. An *Amalaka* finial crowns the edifice, and a Nandi stands in front of the entrance facing it.

Jagat Sukh, the first ancient capital of Kulu, has at present some seven temples, but they have also been rebuilt and renovated at different times. The temple of Devi Sandhya Gayatri dates from the 8th century. Of the original temple only the walls, the entrance and the subsidiary chapels remain surrounded by a comparatively late structure erected at the time of Raja Udhran Pal in 1428 A.D. which has been again renovated at a later date. The original shrine has some affinities with the Teli-ka-Mandir at Gwalior and the sculptures remind of some of the early sculptures at Osian in Rajasthan. The smaller temple of Shiva nearby is also an early shrine and contains a fine stone group of Gauri-Shanker on Nandi. Krishna Deva mentions in the book *Temples of Northern India* that the tiny shrine of Shiva at Jagat Sukh (near Manali in District Kulu of Himachal Pradesh) dates from the early 8th century and is among the earliest specimens of the Pratihara style, with its simple *Triratha* sanctum, resembling that of the Naressar group of temples, roofed by a *Shikhara* showing even bolder *Çhaitya* dormers.

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Bilaspur Temples

The temple architecture of Bilaspur has the heritage of the magnificient *Shikhara* temples, which once adorned the new submerged old town of Bilaspur. These temples embellished with architectural elements of exquisite finish and grace, form an astonishing, though thin, link between the hoary past of these hills and the plains of the country.

The temples illuminate an epoch of Indian art history from the 7th to 12th century. The 7th century temple of Shanmukheshwara, dedicated to Karttikeya, according to Dr. Hermann Goetz, may be connected with the vassal state of Satadru (on the Sutlej) under the paramountcy of Harshavardhana of Thaneswar. The repetitive use of angular and cushion mouldings under the plinth of this temple possess characteristic similiarity with the post-Gupta ruins of the 7th century Sarnath shrines; but the lintel over the door has been treated with the motifs of flying figures in the style of Lakshana Devi temple at Brahmaur in Chamba.

The temple on the extreme right of Rangnatha shrine, dedicated probably to Lord Shiva, is a monument dating from the 8th century. The architectural elements in the plinth portion of this temple are almost identical to the later Chalukian shrines of Pattadakal and Aihole in Bijapur District of Mysore State and are, in particular, coeval and similar to Basheshwar Mahadev temple at Bajaura in Kulu and Thakurdwara at Masrur in Kangra. Thus this temple signifies the spread of Chalukian art in this region when the Gupta tradition declined with the invasion of Kashmir style during the reign or Lalitaditya (725-756).

Further, with the fall of Kashmir empire, Ayudha Kings dominated the scene around 770 A.D. who were succeeded by the Pala of Bengal and Pratiharas of Rajasthan. Consequently, the art style of these dynasties left their impact on the native style. The plinth structure on the extreme left of Rangnatha temple and the ruins at Auhar are of this traditional period of the 8th century. At Auhar only the ruins of *Triratha* sanctum over a wooded mound with low walls and Gupta style fragments of degenerated half-moon shaped *Gavaksha* motif are left. The sub-structure at Rangnatha compound, according to Dr. Goetz, "seem unique in so far as it is the only known Indian counterpart of Chandi Asu in Jawa (9th century)".

During the 10th-11th centuries, a great architectural movement swept in Central India under the Chandelas, and its influence was felt in Himalayan kingdoms in the late 11th century. The Rangnatha temple has Chandela elements in prominence besides the motifs which were already in vogue. The Chande'a art was a late

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manifestation of the virile development inspired by the Guptas. Thus the graceful figures of Dikpala still in a good state of preservation on the hind niche of the temple (now removed to Himachal State Museum) exhibit stylised well-developed limbs indicating muscular strength without disrupting the smoothness of the form. Consequently there is an air of cosmic dignity about them.

The profusely treated frieze, surrounding the temple structure at plinth level, depicts dancing *Apsaras* with a dreamy floating touch accompanied by others playing on *Mridang*, *Vina*, and flute under the undulation of eternal ecstasy. The frieze is supported by a row of elephant heads very similar to that in the shrine on the extreme left of it.

Shashivansha Vinod (The Chronicle of the Chandela rulers) tells us about a legend, according to which the temple was constructed by Aildev who enshrined his image in it as a personification of Lord Shiva, the Rangnatha. But this reference is not to be taken seriously except that it hints at the antiquity of this shrine like all old monuments in the hills whose origin is linked with the Pandavas.

In 1654 A.D. the capital of Kahloor state was shifted from Sunhani to the present site of submerged town on the left bank of Sutlej. The temple was renovated but without disturbing the original structure up to the plinth level which is evident from the massive blocks thrown together in the classical style in the substructure portions. But the superstructures were rebuilt in the prevalent degenerated style, where in the architectural elements of the original structure were fitted in.

In addition to these classical relics, there are some interesting reliefs depicting mythological themes in the folk style in Shri Jananath temple constructed by Rani Baghalyani in early 18th century. All these excellent relics are now on the verge of extinction.

Hatkoti Temples

Hatkoti in Jubbal Valley of Simla District is a place of great antiquity. Before the 12th century it was the summer capital of ancient Sirmur kingdom, and after that it became the seat of Jubbal ruler for a short period. It is situated on the right side of the confluence of Bishkulti stream and Pabar river. Hatkoti, as its name signifies, is famous for its age-old temples, sculptures and wood carvings. Kalsi which is famous for its Asokan rock inscription is about 93 kms. away towards the east of Hatkoti. The road connecting these ancient cultural centres runs along the banks of the Pabar and Tons rivers, the great tributaries of Yamuna.

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There are a large number of temples built within a radius of 5 kms. and this has inspired the people to name Hatkoti as the valley of temples The architectural masterpieces of Hatkoti represent a distinctive school of Jubbal art. The solid structural pattern and the beautiful carving on the outer walls of the temples reflect the skill of the unknown architects of Jubbal. Certain relics of the early Buddhist era that are still extant in the surrounding area give enough evidence of Buddhist influence on the architectural pattern there. The renaissance and revival of Hindu religion at the time of Shankracharya accounts for the numerous temples. The ruins of most of these temples are scattered all over the valley. Those historical and cultural remains speak eloquently of the glorious past and the presence of the ancient Indian art and culture that once existed in the high Himalayan valleys.

Among these variegated antique gems of art, the Durba (Mahishasurmardani) temple occupies an important place. The temple of the widely venerated goddess was founded, according to a legend, by Shankaracharya himself. This was the *Shikhara* type temple but was re-roofed by Maharana Padam Chandra of Jubbal in 1885. The old *Amalaka* of the temple is seen lying nearby.

The deity is installed in one of the innermost enclosures and is by itself a most inspiring spectacle. Exquisitely moulded in brass alloy, its face is a tribute to the artistry of the craftsman. The image is about three mts. high and the principal figure is nearly 1.22 mts. high, depicting the goddess Mahishasurmardani with eight arms, riding on lion and killing the demon Mahishasur. On either side of the image there is an inscription on the *Singhasan*, in nail head character of Brahami script appearing to belong to the 7th-8th century. The inscriptions have not so far been deciphered by any one. According to a tentative reading of the inscription, the name of the deity appears to be Vajreshwari. There is one more stone sculpture of Mahishasurmardani, which is beautifully sculptured and is one of the most elegant pieces of sculpture. The most significant thing is that the sculpture has carved a bodice on the breast of the image. In one hand of the image there is a thunderbolt which testifies to the Buddhist influence on the sculpture of Hatkoti. The lips of the image are inlaid with copper and eyes with silver.

By the side of this structure there is another temple dedicated to Lord Shiva. The architectural design of this temple is like that of the Durga (Mahishasurmardani) temple. There is a big Shivlingam in the centre of the sanctuary, which must have been installed before the temple was constructed, otherwise it would have been impossible to take it inside through so narrow a doorway as existing now. The most attractive feature of this temple is its rich and variegated wood carving on the ceiling which includes figures of gods and goddesses and stand out as a class by itself. Each figure

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is carved out of a block of wood 60 × 60 cms. and then made to fit in a carved wooden frame. There are several finished sculptured stone pieces of gods and goddesses lying in the temple. These are of Vishnu, Vishnu and Lakshmi riding on Garura, Durga, and Ganesh and so on. The images of Vishnu are beautifully carved out and well ornamented pieces of sculpture. There are no niches in the temple and the images are just strewn on the floor. It appears that at sometime there must have been a big structure dedicated to Vishnu which has now disappeared. The people may have removed the idols from the ruins and placed them in the Shiva temple. Around the temple there are several storage places for grain. In front of the Durga temple there was a remarkable piece of sculpture, in which God Vishnu was shown lying on a bed of Sheshnaga and stalking from his navel was shown Brahma seated in a flower. This was in some sort of black stone and was badly disfigured.

About 1 km. to the north-east of these temples, where Bishkulti joins the Pabar river, is a place known as Prahat, probably after the name of Raja Virat of the *Mahabharata* as the legend goes. There were many *Shikhara* temples, out of which only three survive, two on the right bank and the third on the left bank of the Bishkulti. The latter is the largest and most heavily ornamented temple in the entire group. Dedicated to Shiva, this temple houses a very nicely carved image of Durga which especially stands out. In the centre of the inner hall there is a big Linga. The door which faces the river is profusely carved. Above the door there is a figure of Nataraja beautifully carved out though now itlo ks somewhat disfigured. There are three more images on the outer walls. On the right side wall is an image of the Ganesha, while on the back the temple is one of Vashnavi Devi which resembles that of Vishnva. On the left side wall is again an image of Durga in a different posture. On account of the exposure to sun and rain the figures have become somewhat dim and disfigured. The outer walls are also beautifully carved. In all probability the temple was completed first and the carving done afterward. What amazes the viewers is how such fine carvings could be executed on such hard grantic stones. According to one theory, the ancient artisan before chiselling out the hard stone used to apply to it an ointment which had the property of making a hard stone soft. After sculpturing the images he must have applied another ointment whereby the stone regained its original hardness.

Besides these temples, there are large number of *Shikhara* temples scattered all over an area of 5 kms. They are between six to twelve mts high, surmounted with *Amalakas*. On the doors there are *Dwar Mandapas* supported by stone pillars. On the *Mandapas* are placed big carved images of Shiva. The local tradition says that these temples were built by the five Pandava brothers when in disguised identity they were the employees of Raja Virata.

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On the back of the Durga temple and in the centre of the Valley there is a hillock named Sunpuri. On the top of the hill there is a cave in which there is a proto-Gupta period rock inscription. Two other rock inscriptions exist in the near vicinity of this cave. The traces of the old ruins are found all over the hillock. It is said that here once stood the fort of Raja Virat.

On the basis of architectural design and sculptural style it can be said that the Hatkoti temples must belong to the later Gupta period and must have been built between 6th and 9th century A. D. The period, thus, shows a highly cultured phase of Hatkoti valley when cultural influences from northern India were penetrating and thriving in this part of the Himalaya.

Of the distant past nothing can difinitely be said as to who first founded this place. The tradition and history of the area states that Hatkoti was the ancient summer capital of the Rajas of Jubbal who before the 12th century used to rule in Sirmur. Every year during the summer season the Raja and his retinue used to come to Hatkoti to worship the goddess. It was due to their patronage that this town flourished and the temples were erected.

Among the many temples of this mature phase of style a few other monuments deserve special mention. One is the temple at Nirath near Rampur-Bashahr in the district of Simla. This is a Surya temple. The cult of Surya seems to have played quite an important role in olden times. The veneration of the Sun as a prominent deity is generally regarded as Iranian, and in India it has been connected with the Indo-Scythians or, say, Sakas. In any case the oldest images of Surya, in Scythian dress, belong to the Kushana school of Mathura. But the *Puranas* rather point to the Gupta and Gurjara-Pratihara period (6th century). The existing Sun temples and Surya images have been found at Guh, halfway between Brahmaur of Chamba. Though in the Gupta style, the costume of the image is Sasanian-Persian and its conception is closely related to that of the Sun god excavated at the Khairkhana Pass near Kabul. The most important temples of this period are the Teli-ka-Mandir, Gwalior Fort, the Martand temple in Kashmir founded by Lalitaditya-Muktapida (725-56 A. D.), Bara Aditya (Surya) temple at Katarmal in Kumaon, Pratihara Sun temples and Kunds (water tanks) that are found all over Northern and Central India, Rajashthan and Gujarat. In Baijnath there is a temple located at the west end of the town. It consists of a four-pillared hall and a shrine measuring 9.90 metre by 6 metre with a Shikhara about 10.50 metre. in height. It faced to the east, and had doorways on each side of the shrine leading into a *Pradakshina* or circumambulatory passage. In a niche in the south wall there has been an inscription long since illegible; but in the back or west wall was a figure of Surya. The temple was most probably dedicated to the Sun. At Nirath,

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there is a Sun temple on the left bank of Sutlej river. It is a *Shikhara* temple and is surmounted by an *Amalaka.* Rahul Sankrityan places it in the 8th-9th century A. D. He connects it with the early Katyuri rulers of Kumaon whose territorial limits one time extended up to Sutlej river, but there is no such tradition in this region. He says that in the remote past the Katyuris were related with the Sakas who were the Sun worshippers. Saka Salivahana era is more prevalent in the hills than elsewhere in India, and this is quoted as one of the proofs by him. The temple is small but very beautiful. There is not much carving on the outer walls. In the middle of the outer walls there are four figures of exquisitely carved lion. Just below the Surya head, there are again two figures and in the space between them is shown a temple-like structure. The temple has a *Mandapa* which has been reroofed by slate. The wooden panels of the *Mandapa* are decorated in the usual way with wood carving. In the temple there are Surya images, somewhat broken and defaced. The figures are holding two Sun flowers in their both hands. Dr. W. G. N. Van Der Sleen mentions in his book *Four months camping in the Himalayas* (1929) that the object of worship is just this same metal disc without any idea of divinity behind it. "But Rahul Sankrityan who visited this temple on 21st August, 1948 has not mentioned anything about it. He has pointed that in the sanctum there is only a stone image which is not so fine as the others are. In the *Mandapa* there are also Vishnu and Hargauri images. In the Himalaya, the Surya cult was superseded in the 10th century, and absorbed by that of Lakshmi-Narayan (Surya Narayan) which shows that one time Nirath must have remained a seat of some principality and centre of cultural activities in this remote Himalayan valley.

Mandi Temples

There is a saying in Mandi that Kashi has eighty temples and Mandi has eighty one. Mandi has several old temples but not very ancient ones. They are scattered all over the town on both sides of the Beas river. Of these temples of Mandi town, it may be said in general that they are chiefly in stone and in the style of *Shikhara* temples of the plains. They consist of a cella, surmounted by a spire and a porch usually decorated with carvings. The spire is of the usual type. The sanctuaries of a comparatively later time, however, assume the form of a dome, in consequence of which they appear more lime mosques than Hindu temples. The larger and the more important temples are also furnished with an ante room or *Mandapa.* The particular feature which distinguishes them from the temples of the adjoining regions is the trefoil arch which generally decorates the facade or porch. It rests chiefly on the capital of the pillars or pilasters supporting the arch which are usually fluted. The brackets are often shaped as human figurines, seated on the head of an elephant and holding the trunk in their hands. The corners are sometimes ornamented with the figures of celestial musicians or Gandharvas, and the whole combination produces a very pleasing effect.

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The most important temples of Mandi are Trilokinath, Panchavaktra. Ardhanari and Bhootnath temples, all dedicated to Lord Shiva. The first three are protected monuments.

The temple of Trilokinath was built by Sultan Devi, the pious queen of Raja Ajbar Sen in 1520 A.D. This Shiva temple is in Purani Mandi which is on the right bank of Beas river. This is in *Shikhara* style. The cella 2.50 metres square contains a life-sized three-faced stone image of Shiva who is riding on a bull with Parvati seated on the left side. There is also a second image, probably of Shiva, which, however, is much worn. The porch measure 2.30 metres by 1 05 metres and the lintel rests on two fluted pillars and pilasters. An attendant, or *Dwarpal*, is shown on each of the two pilasters, and there are floral and animal carvings on the capitals of the pillars. Between the pillars is the trefoil arch characteristic of Mandi architecture. The workmanship throughout is good, but the carving has suffered much from neglect and is much worn owing to the soft nature of the sandstone employed, but it is still one of the finest monuments in Mandi.

At the confluence of the Beas and Suketi is a stately *Shikhara* temple evidently of considerable age and dedicated to Shiva under the name of Panchavaktra (the five-faced one). The main porch of the *Mandapa* is supported on four heavy pillars, the capitals of which are carved in bird, pot and foliage design and the base in rosettes or lotuses. The main image is of some interest, since the five faces are not placed on one row as is usually the case with polycephalic statues, but in such a way that the fourth face is on the reverse side of the slab, which is otherwise quite plain and the fifth on the top of the image slab. Thus, when seen from front only three faces are visible. The number of arms is ten. Such images of the five-faced Shiva are not uncommon in Mandi, and since their attributes bear a definite resemblance to those of Avalokiteshvara, it has been surmised that they owe their origin to Buddhism. According to Madanjeet Singh, the author of *Himalayan Art*, this image belongs to the 14th century.

Of the more modern temples the finest from an artistic standpoint is the sanctuary of Ardhanari, the stone image of which represents Shiva and his consort Parvati, the right half being devoted to the former, the left to the latter. Shiva is portrayed with knotted hair, a necklace of human skulls, a serpent, a musical instrument in one hand and a Damru in the other. Parvati is shown wearing a diadem, an earring and a nose ring. To the main image is joined a slab on which the vehicles of the deities—the bull and lion—are carved. The whole measures 1.32 mts. high by one mt. broad. On the right and left respectively are images of Bhairava and Hanuman. The building is ascribed to a Kalesar Mian of Mandi, but is incomplete.

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It consists of a cella, a porch and a *Sabha Mandapa* and the carving throughout is rich and of considerable artistic beauty. Unfortunately the shrine is in a poor state of preservation.

SCULPTURE

The post-Gupta period which is also known as Rajput period (8th to 12th century A D.) is really the classical period of Himachal art. This period saw the emergence of Brahmanic sculpture, with its different conception from that of the Buddhist sculpture. Here the artist tried, above all, to express the sacred power, the supernatural force of divinity. The sculpture developed in works of large dimensions during the post-Gupta period. The form of expression varies according to the place of origin and the subject portrayed. The sculptures expressed divine power, for outstanding examples can be seen in the calm grandeur at Mirkula Devi temple of Udaipur in Chamba, and Masrur temple in Kangra, as also in the bas-relief of the Ganga and Yamuna in Bajaura in Kulu, and in the divine figures on the ceiling of Shiva temple at Hatkoti in Jubbal.

Indian sculpture is rarely presented all by itself, it had chiefly to serve as ornament to architecture. This also well applies to the sculptural wealth of Himachal Pradesh in Chamba, Kangra, Kulu, Mandi and Simla Hills which have preserved sculptures of images and decorative patterns in relief that originally formed part of the temples and some of which are still extant at Brahmaur, Chhatrarhi in Chamba, Masrur in Kangra-Mandi, Bajaura in Kulu and Hatkoti in Jubbal. A major portion of Himachal sculpture is found in the usual decorative parts of the temples, namely, walls, ceiling, pediment, doorways and lintels. References to such decorative motifs have already been made. However, a detailed description of the subject is required to construct a coherent picture. The sculptures from Himachal Pradesh may thus be classified in three different groups :

(1) Mythological and Human figures;
(2) Animal figures;
(3) Architectural designs.

The mythological figures are found in large number in the temples, but the human figures are very few. It is, therefore, difficult to describe them in a chronological order. These figures are generally found in the form of *Dwarapals* as in the temple of Trilokinath in Mandi. Some figures are also found in the form of Ganas, Gandharvas and attendants. The best examples of such type of figures are found in the Mahishasurmardani image of Hatkoti, Vaikuntha Chaturmukha Vishnu of

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Chamba and in many others. In some temples images of the founders of the temples such as rulers and saints are also found.

Animal figures in the temples of Himachal Pradesh are scarce. Nevertheless, lions, elephants, bulls, birds, snakes and fishes are noticed frequently in the temples and sculptures of Himachal Pradesh. Lions are generally shown as Vahana of Durga and sometime they are shown as pouncing upon the demon Mahishasur. The eighth century Sruvya temple of Nirath and some 16th-century temples of Mandi have lion sculptures projecting on the upper portion of the outer walls of the temples. Bulls are associated with Shiva temples and the earliest is the 7th-century bronze of Mandi Mahesh temple of Brahmaur in Chamba. In Baijnath and Mandi temples there are some life-size bulls beautifully carved. Among birds, Garuda is always depicted as a Vahana of Vishnu. Specimen of this can be seen in Hatkoti and Mamel stone sculptures. Elephants have found a place in the decorative details on the Hatkoti bronze and on the basement of a temple in old Bilaspur now under Govindsagar lake. The basement of this temple exhibited running friezes of elephants. The best examples of the snake carvings are found on the Panchavaktra temple at the confluence of Beas and Suketi rivers of Mandi. The fish have also found their Place in Masrur and Shiva temple of Hatkoti. In Masrur temple-sculpture the unknown sculptor has delicately carved out the scales of the fish and its dreamy upturned mouth.

As for floral design, the leaf and creeper is invariably shown in the temple architecture of Himachal Pradesh. The first known as the pot and foliage motif is noticed on the pillars quite frequently. The vase showing flowers with leaves falling downward usually decorates the lower part of the pillars.

Almost all extant sculptures belong to Brahmanic faith and hardly one or two testify to the existence of other religions such as Buddhism and Jainism. As the Brahmanical images form a major bulk of the sculptures, it is worthwhile to describe them first. They can be divided into following groups :

(1) Shivite images include various forms of Shiva, and the allied deities like Ganesha and Kartika. Shiva is shown seated with Parvati in his lap and snake around his neck. In Ardhanari temple in Mandi he is shown as half male and half female and in Panchaktra temple the image has five faces and Trilokinath image has three faces.

(2) Images of goddesses include the different forms of Durga and those of the river goddesses. Generally Durga is depicted as Mahishasurmardani with four or eight hands holding thunderbolt, *Chakra*, sword, shield,

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bell, bow and hair or tail of the demon Mahishasura. The best examples in the form of bronzes are Durga of Hatkoti in Jubbal (Simla Hills), and Lakshana Devi of Brahmaur, in Chamba. Some stone sculptures of Hatkoti and Bajaura are also noteworthy. The sacred rivers Ganga and Yamuna are represented as goddesses. The images of these two deities usually stand on both sides of the entrances of Baijnath and Bajaura temples. Hatkoti image of Durga has beautiful figures of Ganga andYamuna on the either side of the image holding water *Kalshas* in their hands.

(3) Vaishnava images comprise different incarnations of Vishnu. They are Vishnu in standing posture holding *Shankha* (Shell), *Chakra* (Wheel), *Gada* (Mace), and *Padma* (Lotus). In some sculptures Vishnu is shown seated with Lakshmani on Garuda. In one or two sculptures Vishnu is shown lying on the bed of Sheshnaga. The first specimens of this style are seen in Hatkoti and Chamba. Narsingh is one of the incarnations of Vishnu and Narshing bronze of Brahmaur is an excellent piece.

(4) Other types of images include Brahama, Surya and Navagraha. These are very rare. Some Surya images which Rahul Sankirtayan calls *Bootdhari* Surya images are found in Nirath. The finest and the rarest example of Surya bronze is found at Hatkoti.

The sculptures from Himachal Pradesh are found in wood, stone and metal. Wooden sculptures in classical style are found in Lakshmana Devi temple, Brahmaur; Shakti Devi temple, Chhatrarhi; Mirkula Devi temple, Udaipur of Chamba District; Kanmi Nag temple at Chhatri in Chachoit Tehsil of Mandi; and Shiva temple Hatkoti in Jubbal. The sculptures in these temples have been carved out on the walls, ceilings and doorframes depicting Puranic gods and goddeses.

The majority of the sculptures are found in stone. They were generally made for *Shikhara* temples, In the 8th and 9th centuries, some traces of the suavity, grace and poise of Gupta classicism and its softer, not subtler, treatment of plastic volume in full round forms can still be seen in the reliefs of the monolithic temple of Masrur in the Kangra Valley. The simple naivete of the hill people seems to have left its stamp in these reliefs and can be felt in the attitude and expression of these short featured figures as much as in the somewhat coarse and summary treatment of the modelling. In the following century, or somewhat later, classical qualities are given full value in a number of cult images in stone from Chamba (Bhagwati image in the village shrine of Svaim in Himagiri Pargana and Shiva figures on the Chandra Shekhara temple at Saho, for example). Shiva image from Harsar, Chamba also belongs to the

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same conception of from. Whether carved fully in the round or nearly so, these figures are powerfully, though coarsely, modelled in heavy and stately proportion, fully expressive of concentrated energy to which the face responds with a calm dignified composure. The jewelleries and the decorations are as much integral parts of the modelled mass as of the whole composition. Here in these images lineaments drawn from Hellenistic-Gandhara style are clearly perceptible in the treatment of the drapery and in the proportion and treatment of some of the reliefs. Hardly a touch of the "mediaeval" factor is perceived in these reliefs which seem to have stored up the classical value with feeling and understanding, and yet in a manner different from what was happening in contemporary eastern India.

Many sculptures of great interest are preserved in the other tracts of Himachal Pradesh. In the great ocean of Indian art, the Palas of Bengal and Pratihara's of Kanauj also contributed their lot to the Indo-Aryan art from the early mediaeval period. It is quite possible that a good part of Himachal Pradesh must have remained under their paramountcy from the 8th to 9th century. These powers were responsible for the travel of the new style of sculptures in these hills. The carving of figures in the Masrur temple is of a high quality comparable to the lively and expressive figure sculpture of Baijnath though not of Bajaura images which are superior.

The Baijnath temple sculpture, the many-armed dancing Shiva is symptomatic of the essential mobility which characterised the carvings in the Hill temples. The particular figure is related to the Mahishasurmardani in the Bajaura temple of Kulu for its fine handling of rhythmic lines and the flow of the chisel.

The figure of the dancing Ganesha is a fantastic adumbration, which is unusual in Northern India, but it confirms that the dance tradition was prevalent here in early mediaeval times though it died later on.

The sculpture of Nandi was probably a later addition, because of the fastidious details of the carving, which includes also the hump of the animal. The rare Pahari sculptures of the early mediaeval period of this kind of figure are more stylised.

The *Dwarpala* figures, with lyrical bands, show a love of cylindrical effect in the sculpture, which again anticipate this kind of emphasis in Bajaura, Kulu. Ananda K. Coommaraswamy mentions in his book *Yakshas* that these figures represent the river goddesses, Gana and Yamuna.

In Kulu Valley there are some fine examples of late Gupta sculptures that show Chalukian influences along with Pratihara-Rajasthani, Trigarta and Kashmir-

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Chamba features. Jagat Sukh, Nagar and Makarasa have some interesting sculptural fragments or documentation at times exhibiting a marked difference in style and provenance, thus a Devi relief from Manali has the early Brahmaur Kashmiri characteristics while some sculptures at Nast at Jagat Sukh have both Rajasthani and Chamba influences. An interesting early Mahishasurmardani relief at Jagat Sukh has some Chalukian features. It is now housed in the H.P. State Museum in Simla.

Nagar likewise has a number of fairly early sculptures mostly of Durga, Vishnu and Lakshmi-Narayan, Gauri-Shankar, Narsingh and Ganesha reliefs. The Vishnu relief from Nagar has many of the characteristics of the Kashmir-Chamba tradition. The god is shown standing with his second pair of hands resting upon the heads of two female attendants in fixed postures holding fly-whisks and flowers. He wears a crown of fine floral roundels resting upon a band of circular knobs, and has a simple necklace of beads and narrow bracelets and armlets. The curls cascade on either side of the head. A scarf falls outwards near the god's elbows and is shown wearing a massive long garland. His feet rest not upon a Garuda, but on a female figure just below her breasts, very likely a Prithvi-Lakshmi motif common at the feet of Kashmir Vishnu figures. This sculpture though of later date clearly shows the Kashmir-Chamba influence, somewhat modified and adopted to the local idiom.

There is a large Gauri-Shanker stone sculpture in the Gauri-Shanker temple at Nagar. Imposing in size it is of fairly later period. The god with the goddess upon his left knee is shown sitting on Nandi whose head is turned towards them. The figures are squatty and heavy, though the sculpture follows an early prototype. Two flying Gandhrvas with garlands are in the upper corners. Both figures have the typical small protruding chins as we find in some Chamba-Lahaul sculptures besides some other features of the Chamba-Kashmir school. The sculpture is in good condition and is the largest group at Nagar.

Dashal temple has several sculptures. Some of them are very interesting, especially the figures of Vishnu and Kartikeya with two attendants. There is another fairly large sculpture of Vishnu with Lakshmi on his knee astride Garuda. The sculpture is of the Kashmir-Chamba type with a typical Kashmir Garuda holding the *Amrita* vessel in his two hands. Vishnu is represented with the lion and bear aspects, and in his front right hand he is seen holding a flower of Kashmir design.

Perhaps one of the most outstanding and important sculptures in the valley is the figure of Vishnu within the compound of the Visheshwar Mahadev temple at Bajaura carved in the style of fine late Gupta Pratihara idiom. It is a very beautiful sculpture of great strength and dignity and yet of great simplicity. Unfortunately

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it has been broken at the feet, but the pedestal with the feet still stands nearby. Vishnu is seen represented with four arms. Two back arms are broken at the wrists though hold downwards and slightly outwards. They may have rested upon two attendants, since there are two projections on either side of the long base that seem to indicate the place where the attendants might have stood. Vishnu is shown against the elaborate multifigured Prabha of this type found in a Vishvarupa Vishnu figure from Kanauj. Like that figure it also has its fine Avatar aspects, the smaller fish and tortoise heads being superimposed upon the boar and lion heads. Above, the crown appears to be the head ofa horse. The aspect is assumed to destroy Hyagriva. The face of a fine Gupta type is somewhat eroded, but still quite clear. It strongly resembles some of the faces at Masrur. The well-preserved lobe of the left ear shows excellent workmanship.

The crown is of the square semi-cylindrical type raised in the centre with a rich central floral design reminiscent of the Deogrh or later Napalese crowns. The hair falling in thick locks and the heavy circular earrings with beaded or ribbed outer edges rest with the locks up the shoulders.

Vishnu wears two necklaces, an inner string of single bead and an outer double string with a pendant in the centre. He wears thin beaded armlets near the armpits and narrow bracelets. The flower in Vishnu's right hand is a lotus with reversed petals held facing backwards towards the figure. A conch is in the left hand resting upon his thigh. The girdle is a narrow and simple one. Dhoti is short and of equal length on both legs. The long floral garland is relieved by three large round flowers, over the arms and below the knees. Between the feet is a damaged projection that might have been the head of a Prithvi-Lakshmi.

The beautiful, powerful and dignified figure must have been part of some outstanding temple long since lost. A number of other important sculptures can be seen in the vicinity of the Bajaurā temple but of all these the figure of Vishnu is the most important. Many of the sculptures have marked early Kashmir characteristics, and according to tradition have been brought here from neighbouring shrines.

Along with the fine early sculptures of accomplished workmanship there is a local idiom which follows closely the early Pratihara-Rajasthani tradition on the one hand and the Kashmir-Chamba style on the other. But in most of these, the figures are already short and squatty and the workmanship is often clumsy, though the prototypes must have been of quite a pure early style.

The sculptures at the entrance and in the porch chapel of the Bajaura temple

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likewise point to the same links with the Gupta sculptural tradition. Though it has been suggested that the relief of Vishnu, Durga and Ganesha may be reproductions of the lost early original though of later date than the Ganga and Yamuna reliefs, they have so much in common in the technical treatment of their details that one is inclined to treat them as contemporary but possibly executed by another artist.

The elongated, elegant and dignified figures of Ganga and Yamuna flanking the entrance porch are shown standing against a rich background of intricate foliage and heavy floral scrolls. Small figures of female attendants stand at their feet in very beautiful poses. The scarves of the goddesses fall over their hair gathered in a side bun, flow over their shoulders and arms in beautiful continuous wavy lines and repeat themselves in the likewise flowing contour of their transversely pleated skirts.

Their skirts are held by a girdle from which beaded loops and tassels hang. The skirt extends over the abdomen above the belt in vertical incised folds that continue in oblique lines over the legs below. The goddesses wear three heavy necklaces and a string of beads fall between their breasts ending in a knot or pendant, On their heads they wear a three pointed crown. The hair is parted in the middle and sweeps in wavelets towards their ears. Heavy circular earrings are worn by both the goddesses. Both wear armlets, narrow bracelets and anklets. In one hand they hold a water vessel and in the other the heavy stem of a flower. The temple attendants wear a similar but simplified attire and the attendants of Yamuna hold a tall parasol over the goddess. Both reliefs of Ganga and Yamuna are flanked on the outside by a very rich and intricate scroll motif moulding of great strength and beauty. The entire composition, the figures of the river goddesses and their attendants, their dress, the floral motifs and scrolls, all conform to the great tradition which inspired the architecture of the temple.

The three sculptural reliefs in the main chapel porches at first appear different, yet are similar to the other reliefs in many of their details. They are over 1.50 mts. in height. The panel of Ganesha has been broken across the top.

The sculpture of Vishnu is in the chapel porch facing west, Durga faces north and Ganesha south. Unfortunately the faces of these sculptures were mutilated, it is said, at the time of Raja Ghamand Chand's invasion of Kulu in 1760-70 A.D.

The striking characteristics are that these sculptures are the slender elongated proportions of the figures reflecting the canons of the 7th century, Durga measures over 2.60 mts. while Vishnu is nearly 2.45 mts. The clear yet simple and well defined composition, the excellent execution, the traditional tall three pointed ornamental

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crowns, the fine flowing lines of the draperies and the rich floral scrolls merging with the draperies into one flamboyant back ground are common to all the reliefs.

In the Vishnu figure in spite of the apparent rigidity of the central figure, there is an outward rising movement in the composition beginning with the flexed figures of the male and female attendants that flank it, both looking upwards and continued in the postures of the rear arms that rise obliquely holding the serrated sword and the disc. This flexed attitude of the attendant figures can be found in Kushana sculptures, and has later been adopted in the north-western and Kashmir sculptures where the hands of the god were made to rest upon the heads of the flexed attendants.

A large round halo common to all the figures has a flaming edge which lifts gently into a point at the top. Inside, the halo is divided into concentric bands with floral ornaments. The male attendants wear a tall crown similar to the one worn by Vishnu, while the female attendants wear a dress conforming to the dresses of the river goddesses in reliefs. There are two prominent flying Gandharavas with garlands on either side and overlapping the halo.

Durga as Mahishasurmardani is shown in a very dramatic yet slender and angular form. The whole composition has a sense of action and is imbued with a certain triumphant rhythm. She is depicted with eight arms; she also wears a tall elaborate three pointed crown, heavy earrings and hair arranged in a bun over her left shoulder. Jewellery, bracelets and armlets are the same as in the other reliefs with the exception that the front pair of arms has broad *Choori* type of bracelets, as found in the Mahishasurmardini relief at Aihole. Like the other female figures she wears thin anklets edged with small pendants. *Dupatta* is carried over the bun and flows in free ripples behind the goddess, while a heavy floral garland follows the outline of her shoulders and falling over the arms make a low loop over the legs. The skirt is held by a tasseled girdle and extends in pleats over the abdomen above the girdle, similar to the skirt pleats of the river goddesses. Above the skirt and across the abdomen of the goddess can be seen the semi-circular ornamental band which is a characteristic detail found on a number of Kashmir and Chamba images of female deities—both Hindu and Buddhist. Or it may be an ornament or the lower edge of a diaphanous upper garment. She plungs her trident into the chest of the *asura* whom she holds by the tuft of his hair. He is shown in an angular flexed posture of kneeling.

A small *asura* figure in an almost similar posture and attitude is to be found at the lower right corner, while Durga's lion can be seen to the left in the background behind the vanquished Buffalo Demon crumpled at Durga's feet.

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The figure of Ganesha is a traditional image executed in the style of the other two panels. It is also well designed and elegant and, except for the broken top portion, is well preserved. Of special interest are the two sculptured lions supporting the throne of Ganesha. They are shown with crossed front-paws, a posture that originated in Gandhara and has been repeated in bronze sculptures of the north-western tradition and in Chamba. These three sculptures though following traditional canons and ornamental details have a character all of their own. There is an originality in their treatment which makes them unique and striking.

The structures of the Shanmukheswar and Rangnath temples at Bilaspur on the Sutlej may be connected with the vassal state of Satadru. The plinth of the former temple shows the repetition of angular and cushion mouldings characteristic of the late Gupta ruins of Sarnath. The plinth of the Rangnath temple is very similar to two small later Chalukya shrines at Aihole and Pattadakal. These temples have now submerged into Govindsagar lake. Two monumental pieces of the 8th century sculptures belonging to the post-Gupta period have been removed and are lodged in the Himachal Pradesh State Museum, Simla, and are on display in the Sculpture Gallery. These sculptures of grey sandstone blocks formed part of a niche on the back side of Rangnath temple of the old Bilaspur Town. Refinement, simplicity of expression and dominant spiritual purpose are some of tbe salient features of these sculptures. The form is elegant and stance graceful. The linear treatment of the human figure which had always been a high mark of Pahari art was adopted even as early as the 8th century A.D. The ornaments by their light delicate workmanship impart a graceful touch to the whole composition. The sculptures represent *Dikpalas*. The figures are arranged within an ornamental *Toran*, or portal.

The sculptures from Masrur in Kangra District retain the similar grace and elegance as those from Bilaspur. But Masrur sculptures give a feeling of more volume and sensuousness and their smooth surface and plasticity have an instant appeal.

From the specimens found so far, and from the extensive ruins strewn all over and around Hatkoti valley, it is clear that the locality was in the 7th and 8th centuries, an important Buddhist and Brahmanical centre that encouraged and patronized the art of sculpture in embelishing temples. The sculptures from different temples, notably from Shiva, Devi carry on the whole the Ganga-Yamuna valley classical tradition. Hatkoti geographically as well as artistically lying in the watershed of the river Yamuna is very near to Kalsi and Lakshamandal in Jaunsar Bawar. Lakshamandal (Laksha-Mandal) is also famous for ancient temple and sculptures. The sculptures of Hatkoti are beautiful specimens of art with a definite superiority over the remaining mediaeval sculptures of this region. The prominent sculptures are that of

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Mahishasurmardani, Vishnu and Ganesha. All the sculptures of Mahishasurmardani are shown with eight hands, holding different objects and killing the Mahishasur with a spear.

Amongst the numerous sculptures from the Hatkoti are a number of very interesting images of Vishnu group in a style peculiar to this place. The workmanship is accomplished, while the modelling preserves reminiscences of the post-Gupta tradition. The general type is that of a four-armed Vishnu with *Shankha*, *Chakra*, *Gada* and *Padma* in the hands and a crown with a halo behind it. Hatkoti has three types of Vishnu icons, i.e. *Sthanak* (standing), *Asana* (seated) and *Sayans* (recumbent). In the *Asana* posture Vishnu is seen riding on Garuda with Lakshmi on the left lap whose one feet is resting on the lotus flower. There is profuse carving on the image. Only one or two specimens of Sayanamurtis are noticed in Hatkoti. These are in black stone. Eight small black stone sculptures from Hatkoti are lying in Banar temple in Shari village near Jubbal town. It is said that these places were given by the last Rani of Sari State who died in 1864 A.D. to her nephew Sidhu Singh for worship. One of the images is of the *Sayana* Vishnu. Sthanak sculptures of Hatkoti somewhat resemble the Thakurdawara (Moradabad) and Dewalgarh (Garhwal) Vishnu images.

METAL SCULPTURE

The art of casting metals reached a degree of development which may well be regarded as singular. The most common method was casting of images from bronzes. The metal images were cast by the *cire perdue* or lost wax process, so called from the fact that the wax model which served as the basis of the operation was drained out by heating to form a mould for the actual casting. The object was first modelled in wax and the model coated with clay. After the wax had been melted out, the liquid metal was poured into the mou'd. This was the technique employed in a making all the beautiful solid images of bronzes or brass including some of very great size.

The outstanding features of imagery of the artists of Himachal had been that since the days when the priests and iconographers prescribed the type and attributive signs of divinities and demoniac or spiritual characters, they were only allowed to interpret these fixed ideas and exercise discretion without omitting or changing any detail of the set patterns. And still under such rigorous suppression of self-interpretation the Himachal sculptors have produced magnificient sculptures.

The pivot of early sculpture has been the human figure, both male and female, in the form of gods and goddesses and their attendants. These images were meant

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for the worship by the devotees to concentrate their minds for the realisation of an ultimate object outside the image itself. Therefore, these images can be termed as cult-images. It is surprising, so far as Himachal Pradesh is concerned, that while contemporary stone sculptures show signs of ossification and exhaustion, the metal images were wrought, not mechanically but with considerable amount of creative vigour and skill. It is no exaggeration if we said that the Himachal possesses the finest metal sculptures of the world and perhaps Mahishasurmardani image of Hatkoti and Vaikuntha Vishnu of Hari-Har Rai temple of Chamba have no match anywhere in the world.

The earliest style in metal statuary is that of the Gupta period; at least no earlier examples of metal sculpture of note have been found preceding their time. A brass Buddhist statue was first noticed by Pandit Hiranand Shastri in an inn (*dharamslaa*) at Fatehpur, near Kangra. Its pedestal is 30 cms. high and the image is 14 cms. seated cross-legged on an ornamental cushion. The gesture is one of the conventional attitudes (*Mudras*) of the Buddha which expresses that the master is expounding the Sacred Law (Dharamchakramudra). The left hand holds at the same time the hem of the robe which leaves the right shoulder bare. This combination of drapery and attitude is typical of the art of Gandhara. The lobes of the ear are prolonged and the line is broken.

The inscription enables us to fix the date of the image approximately as the sixth century A.D. The inscription in incorrect Sanskrit is engraved into lines of 13 cms. on the back of the cushion on which the Buddha is seated. Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy has described it as a fine specimen or workmanship richly decorated and inlaid with copper and silver. As the statue was acquired for Lahore Museum it is now in Pakistan. The composition of this statue resembles the 5th-century stone statute of the Buddha from Sarnath which is in the Sarnath Museum.

Together with the Buddha image another inscribed brass statue representing Vishnu was recovered. Its height including the pedestal is 21 cms. The god is shown standing between two miniature attendants, one male and the other female with fly-whisks (*Chamara*). He is four-armed. The two hands rest on the haloes of his attendants, the other two hold a lotus flower (*Padma*) and a conch (*Sankha*). He wears a diadem (*Kirita*), long locks, a sacred thread, a long wreath and various ornaments. The ornaments of eyes and breasts are of silver. Behind his head a circular halo is attached from the top of which a rosette sticks out. The date inscribed on the statue is not legible.

The most characteristic bronze of the post-Gupta period is probably the rare

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cult-image of Mahishasurmardani from Hatkoti, interesting both from the iconographic as well as artistic point of view. On palaeographical ground its date can be assigned to the 7th century A.D. This fine piece of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy. The whole composition is about 3 mts. high and 0.91 mt. wide. The principal image of Mahishasurmardani which is nearly 1.22 mts. high, is riding on the lion and is studded in the centre of the composition. The image has eight arms with different objects in the hands. Near the left foot is seen lying the head of the Mahishasur demon. The body of the image is covered with robes. On the either side of the image there are two inscriptions in Brahmi character.

But alongside, and earlier than anywhere else in the north, mediaeval characteristics are present in a number of inscribed metal images from Chamba. On palaeographical grounds most of them are datable towards the beginning of the eighth century, and a few to the ninth and tenth centuries. The eighth-century images, executed at the instance of King Meruverman by a craftsman named Gugga and the tenth (or eleventh) century ones of Vishnu and Kali from Sahu and Nirkula, all in Chamba, are mechanically conceived and characterised by sharp outlines deeply cut.

The best general description of these metal sculptures has been given by Dr. Hermann Goetz in his monumental work on the early wooden temples of Chamba. The idol of Lakshana Devi—a fine brass statue, 1 mt. high, stands on a pedestal of 22 cms. in height. Lakshana Devi (Bhagavati) is an aspect of Durga, also called Bhadrakali in the Chamba Vansavali. The dedicatory inscription on the image declares that "the illustrious Lord Meruverman has caused the holy image of the Goddess Lakshana to be made by the workman Gugga". The image can be dated to the second half of the 7th century A.D.

As in most of the temples, the goddess is represented as Durga Mahishasurmardani, the "Slayer of the demon Mahishasur", a form which we can trace first in the Udaygiri cave near Bhisla (Malwa) and in the Gupta temple of Bhumara. As a matter of fact, the Brahmaur image also follows the iconographic concept of the high Chalukya period (the 7th century), i.e. the goddess has her right foot on the head of the killed buffalo-demon after having run her trident into the demon's neck, while with her left hand she is seen holding the buffalo's tail and lifting its entire body up almost vertically. In every respect, however, the Brahmaur image belongs to late-Gupta period,—in the proportions of the figure, the anatomical treatment, the hair style, the costume, ornaments and emblems. The goddess wears a high *Jatamukuta* (crown of matted hair), or rather an immense wig, the hair being piled up in a slightly oblique protuberance and bound together by a string of pearls and various pieces of jewellery

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fixed thereon. The lower hair cascade dawn the shoulders and neck in innumerable ringlets. A costly belt with attached pearl strings and pendants, and a sort of pearl-studded girdle pressing in the belly hold a skirt of very fine muslin. A diaphanous shawl falls down from the shoulders in innumerable fine folds, and a necklace of golden disk hangs from a string of pearls. Embossed bracelets on which dangle short strings of pearls and jewels, wristlets and anklets complete the costume. The eyes of the goddess are inlaid with silver, and her four arms hold, in the upper right hand, a trident (*Trishula*), in the lower right a sword (*Khadga*), in the upper left hand a bell (*Ghanti*), and in the lower left the tail of the buffalo-demon.

The idol of Lakshana Devi has already been discussed. Let us now examine the two other images dedicated by King Meruverman at Brahmaur. The first is Shiva's bull Nandi, a brass (or more correctly Ashtadhatu mixture of eight metals) statue, 1.50 mts. high and 1.80 mts. long (from the nose to the tail), on a copper pedestal, 32 cms. high. A statue of Nandi is usually found in front of Shiva temples, except where the god is represented riding or leaning on it. But it is always represented lying leisurely on its four drawn-in-legs. But statue of the standing bull is unique. This represents a survival of an earlier iconographic practice peculiar to north-western India. For on the Kushana, Kidara-Kushana and Kushana-Sasanian coins Shiva with the trident in one of his hands (Sulapani) always stands in front of an upright bull, whereas the type has been almost unknown not only in India outside Kushana empire, but also to the Ephthalites. Nandi's body is like a barrel, and its neck and hump are not less unnatural; even the snout is more like that of a pig, and also the legs and hooves are curiously clumsy. Its ornaments, on the other hand, are of the usual type, chains with alternating disks and bell-shaped pendants, and cover ending in a "woven" border. The eye-sockets at present are empty and, as in the case of the lion on Asoka's pillar at Sarnath, these must have been inlaid with crystals. The pedestal has the shape of a Gupta plinth or platform. An ear and the tail of the image have been broken during the Tibetan invasion.

The idol of Ganesha is a brass figure, 90 cms. high placed on a copper pedestal which is 35 cms. high, and bears, like all the other images, except the Narasing, an inscription of king Meruverman. Ganesha is represented as an awe-inspiring deity with a very stout, muscular body, elephant-head, and four arms. In these he holds (upper right) a rosary, (lower right) his second tusk, (upper left) a hatchet with a dagger-shaped blade, and (lower left) a vessel filled with sweetsmeats (Laddu) of which he picks up one with his trunk. Like Shiva he has three eyes, the third at the root of his trunk, while his staring eyes, standing-out ears and tense arms appear as if he were prepared to spring into action any moment. He wears a crown of pinnacles connected by strings of pearls resembling half-moons, enclosing a *Mukuta.*

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His necklace consists of the same disks which we have seen on the images of Lakshana Devi and Nandi. A snake serves as the *Yajnopavita* or sacred thread. Around his waist a lion's or tiger's skin is wound, tied together by a knot of two paws, the head on the right, the tail on the left side. The lower body is covered with a *Dhoti* decorated with lotus flowers which are visible only on the fragment at the foot of the pedestal, as the legs and feet were broken during the Tibetan (Kira) invasion under King Khri-srong Idebtsan. Ganesha sits on a lion throne (*Simhasana*) very similar to those used for Buddhist and Jain images, only with this difference that the "Wheel of the Law" is replaced by a very queer looking Gana. Also the two lions are grotesque and have very little resemblance to the real animal. Finally, the *Simhasana* is decorated with a cloth-cover, with fringes hanging down in a quarter circle in the centre, such as is common on similar Buddhist and Jain pedestals.

The image of Narasingh looks like the exact counterpart of Ganesha. The man-lion incarnation (*Avatara*) is one of the terrible aspects of Vishnu, the destroyer of Hiranyakasipa and saviour of Prahlada. It is a short, plump human figure with a heavy lion's head, sitting on a throne with widespread legs, two arms folded under the chin, two held up with extended claws, staring forward with wide-open eyes and half-opened mouth. The legs are tense as if prepared to spring into action at any moment. The extended arms seem to wait for the moment when they can pierce their long claws into the victim, the hands under the chin are pressed together as if they could hardly suppress the lust of blood glowing in the wild eyes, the tense ears and the slavering mouth vibrate in tensest expectation, while the mane stands out like a flaming halo. There are no special symbols of the horrible such as sculls, bones and skeltons as in Shiva iconography, only the royal crown (of Gandhara-Kashmiri type), the royal jewellery and costume, and, on the foot of the pedestal, the laid-aside emblemata of Vishnu, the mace and the disc, the lotus and the conch. And yet, in its concentrated tension, this masterpiece embodies all the irrational terrors of inscrutable cosmic power.

To this mighty figure the socle forms a curious anti-climax. It is a massive bench decorated with reliefs of mountain peaks stylized in a manner unknown in India. And to the right and left is seen the head of a lion peeping over the mountains, again stylized in an extraordinary manner, to some degree copied from the face of Narasingh, and yet more reminiscent of the dragon masks in early Chinese art.

The height of the statue is exactly the same as that of the Ganesha, the physical type also links up with the latter's and even technically hardly any difference can be discovered. But there is no inscription of Meruverman as on all the other idols executed by master Gugga for that king, and no relief of it in the Brahmani

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Devi Nala. The Narasingh, therefore, cannot have formed part of the images and sanctuaries set up at the foundation of Brahmaur.

According to a copper-plate, still extant, this idol was executed by Tiribhuvan-rekha Devi, the queen of Raja Yagakaraverman (c.940-60A.D.) for the temple of Narasingh at Brahmaur.

C. Sivaramamurti indentifies it to be a 8th century Karkota. He mentions in his book *Indian Bronzes* (1962) that this is a simple and effective representation of Narasingh distinctly recalling a blend of Gupta and Gandhara elements for producing the form of sculpture, that is so characteristic of Kashmir and the neighbouring hill regions. This is very typical of the Chamba School.

Very similar to the Lakshana Devi temple at Brahmaur is that of Shakti Devi at Chhatrari on the southern slope of the Ravi. The idol of Shakti Devi is a fine brass statue, with its socle 1.38 mts. high. This copper socle is much lower than that of Lakshana Devi, as the goddess stands on a big lotus with revetted over-ripe petals—a very common convention in Nepalese and Tibetan art. She has a very slim, elegant body covered only with a transparent skirt falling down to the ankles and forming some folds between the legs held by a rich belt (*Mekhala*) with a kind of gridle and strings of pearls of the same type as that worn by Lakshana Devi. Also the scarf hanging over her shoulders, her necklace, armlets, bracelets, and earrings are of the same sort. But besides these, a long string of pearls hangs down from her neck between the heavy breasts to her thighs. On her head she wears a high diadem, consisting of a golden circle decorated with two jewelled flowers above each ear, from which bands flow down, and a pile of fine jewels above the forehead from which plumets emerge to the right, left, and top. In her two right hands Shakti Devi holds a lance (symbol of power) and a lotus (symbol of life), in her left hands a bell (symbol of space) and a snake (symbol of death and time).

There is another old idol at Chhatrarhi, believed to represent Shakti Devi. It is likewise a fine old brass image, but only a bust from the waist up is seen emerging from the usual copper pedestal. It cannot be an image of the Devi, as it is a male figure, holding a lotus and a rosary in its hands. It wears a high *Mukuta* of piled up hair, while long ringlets float down on the shoulders; a diadem is placed on the forehead, ending above the ears in two small flowers and rising above the temples in two high pinnacles. The eyes are inlaid with silver. Probably this bust represents the same deity as Balabhadravarman's similar brass image at Harsar, near Brahmaur. Its style is characteristically Kashmiri, and stands very near to the Surya reliefs of Martand. It must, therefore, belong to the reign of Ajyaverman, (c. 760

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A.D.) or soon after.

There are two copper statuettes of Yoginis, attendants of the Great Goddess. Dr. Hermann Goetz describes them as rather short, stout figures, with excessively short legs and small feet, a fat body and a big head, and with two large staring eyes and an awkward smile. And yet they do not belong to primitive art. On the contrary they are representatives, though degenerated and provincial, of a highly refined tradition. The treatment of anatomy and postures, the beautifully chiselled costume, the hair style, the jewellery diademns, the silver-inlaid eyes, the oral halo, the type of the pedestal, all these place, the images in the late-Gupta tradition, and yet the stout roundness of the figures already has all the rural earthiness of the early Pala and Pratihara art. Moreover, excessively short legs, small feet, big heads are characteristic features of the decadent style. The artist still knows how to execute every individual part, but has lost the sense of the whole, and accentuates the various parts of the figures specially emphasizing the head and eyes as the focal point of expression. We may, therefore, interpret these figures as products of the transitional style from Gupta to medieval art and may place them during that period when the artist felt the Pala influence via the dependent Ayudha kingdom of Kanauj, a vassal of which was the Brahamaur state. This must been in the years between the fall of the Kashmir empire of Lalitaditya and the Tibetan (Kira) invasion. In this respect they are contemporaneous with the Pala bronzes which have been found in Kulu in large number.

An important statue of the later period is of Mirakula Devi (Kali) in Chamba-Lahaul, at the junction of the Maiyar nala with the Chandraphaga. Dr. Hermann Goetz mentions that this is a silver idol of Kali in her aspect as Mahishasurmardani. One source says that it is an Ashtadhatu (eight-metal alloy) statue weighing 35 kilogram and 60 cms. An inscription in the late Sharada characters on the pedestal states that it was cast by one Panjamanaka Jinaka from Bhadvavah in the *Sastra* (?) in the year 4645, that is, 1569-70 A.D., and dedicated by Thakur Himapals. It is a rather primitive and clumsy work, despite its elaborate character. For the goddess is represented eight-armed, standing on the buffalo demon who was defeated by the lion of the goddess. To the right stands a small figure of the donor, a caricature of similar statuettes in Rajasthan. But the bodies of the goddess and of the buffalo look bloated, notwithstanding the thin legs and arms. Kali's head is much too big, and her *Mukuta* looks rather like the ceremonial crown of a Tibetan Lama, her girdle like that of a fierce Lamaistic deity. The enclosing frame suggests brass idols of the 15th and 16th centuries from Rajasthan, the top of it resembles the backs of the early Mughal thrones. The influence of the Mughal and Rajput art is not surprising in the 16th century; it penetrated probably via Balor which then had some control over Bhadravah. The Tibetan element is also understandable in a frontier area, where

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the Tibetan Lahulis venerated Mirkula Devi as Dorje Phagme (Skt. Vajravarahi).

The ancient rulers of Brahmaur Chamba were great lovers of art and architecture. Sahivaverman (c. 920-40 A.D.), who shifted his capital from Brahmaur to Chamba, where he built a number of stone temples erecting several stone and metal cult images in them. His son Yugakaravarman (940-60 A.D.) enshrined a brass image in Gauri Shanker temple at Chamba despite certain provincial weaknesses. The image has all the elegance of the 10th-century Pratihara court art.

The most interesting elegant bronze of the Chamba school is the cult-image of Vishnu enshrined in Hari Rai temple in Chowgan Maidan. This massive *Ashatdhatu* idol of Vaikuntha Chaturmukha Vishnu is 1.5 mts. high weighing 400 kg. "In all world," says Dr. Moti Chandra, "no idol of this kind is known to exist." He places the age of the image as 800 A.D. approximately.

Of the four heads of the image, only three are visible. On the right is the head of a lion representing Narasingh, and on the left is the one representing Varaha. The rear head is that of Kapiala, and the front one is that of Vaikuntha Vishnu. *Padma* and *Sankha* are held in the upper right and left hands respectively.

The two little figures standing on either side of the idol beneath the other two hands symbolise *Gadadevi* and *Chakrapurusha*, the two weapons of the Lord. The figure between the two legs of the idol is that of Prithvi, Mother Earth. "It is fantastic, it is invaluable. It would cost much more than Rs. 50 lakhs", exclaimed Dr. Moti Chandra, Director of Bombay's Prince of Wales Museum, who has seen this priceless jewel of art.

In 1970 the National Museum, New Delhi acquired a beautiful bronze image (height 38 cms.) which according to C. Sivaramamurti, was a fine example of the medieval art of the Himalayan region, near Chamba and Kashmir. Inscriptions in Sarada characters of about 1000 A.D. added to the interest of this bronze of Devi Utpala. Dr. B.C. Chhabra has thrown more light on this bronze in his article entitled Svachachhanda-Bhairavi Bronze Image from Kangra "published in '*Marg*', March, 1970. He writes that this beautiful bronze image comes from Kangra. It has five line inscription at its base, in Sarada characters of about the 12th century A.D. The inscription is partly preserved and is still under study. It begins with the mention of the year 53 which, in common with similar inscriptions found in that part, refers itself to the *Laukika* era. As hundreds are usually omitted in this reckoning, it is difficult to determine the exact date as also its equivalent in the Christian era. Furthermore in the inscription the name of a ruling chief is mentioned which, according to

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the tentative reading, appears to be Narayaka, yet to be identified. The inscription, when completely deciphered and properly interpreted, is bound to shed considerable light on the image, the like which is seldom met with. The image is here mentioned without waiting for the full decipherment of its inscription in the hope that those familiar with, and expert in, Hindu iconography may be in a position to bring out the true significance of this and such images.

The main deity, female, crowned and heavily ornamented, seated on and supported by a four handed male figure, has five faces and ten arms. Four of the faces are in the cardinal directions and the fifth one is on the top. The fourth of the five right hands is shown to signify the *Abhaya Mudra*. The remaining right hands, beginning from the top right hand, respectively hold the following eight emblems : *Khadga* (sword), *Padma* (lotus), *Trishula* (trident) or *Chakra* (discus) with a *trishula* inside it, *Kapala* (skull), *Ankusa* (goad), *Pasa* (noose), *Pustaka* (book) and *Amiritaghota* (jar of ambrosia).

The goddess is seated in *Paryankasana* or *Sukhasana* pose with the right leg folded double and the left one hanging down. The four-handed god, serving as *Vahana* of the goddess, is shown in an attitude of adoration, with the front two hands folded worshipfully, the back right hand lending support to the knee of the folded right leg of the goddess and the back left hand serving as the foot-stool for the foot of the hanging down left leg of the goddess. The face of the *Vahana* is turned to show that he is looking upward at the face of the goddess respectfully. He also wears a crown and ornaments on the upper half of the body.

Below, to the right of the goddess, is Ganesha and to her left is Shiva, both in the dancing posture. Immediately below the male figure are two small seated figures in attendance and below the dancing Shiva figure is another small figure which presumably represents the donor. The main figure is enclosed within a flamed trefoil-shaped aureole. The whole composition is well balanced, graceful and exquisite. The swelling breasts and entranced eyes lend an air of sublimity and tranquility, the gorgeous garlands that of freshness and piety. The skilful rendering of each little detail resounds to the credit of the artists who fashioned the bronze masterpiece.

As to the identity of the main figure, the available literature is of no help. It need hardly be mentioned that the Himalaya mountains being sacred to Lord Shiva and mythologically the Mountain Himalaya being the father of Parvati, Lord Shiva's consort, the worship of Shiva and Parvati, is very popular in those regions and that one may reasonably expect to find there all the different forms of the two deities, mentioned in the *Puranas* and classics, especially in those regions belonging to the

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Kashmir Shiavism. The provenance of the image under discussion is, as already stated, a place in the northern Himalayas, namely Kangra, famous for Shiva temples in and around it. In the *Anandalahari* of Shankara there is a verse describing the Shakti seated on Parama-Shiva in *Paryankasana* mudra. The verse is *Sivakare Manche Paramasiva-Paryankanilayam.* From this we may identify the male four-handed figure of our piece with Shiva or Parama-Shiva (the supreme God Shiva) serving as the Vahana to the main female deity. As to the identity of this female deity, the same description applies to his female counterpart, otherwise known as *Aghora Sakti.*

Tantrism became predominant in northern India during the medieval period. Carrying of a *Kapala* and the *Khatvanga* by the goddess suggest Tantrik affiliations. As no image of this variety has been discovered from other parts of the country, it appears that this particular form of the goddess was popular in the hilly region of northern India, where it was a common form of worship.

Considering the name and fame of the Kulu valley it is surprising that no bronze of any special importance has come to light. The few bronzes like the ones found at Nagar or Sultanpur are of late date and reported to have been brought from lower India and Bashahr. The Mahishasurmardani bronze in the Tripura Sundari temple and the standing Vishnu in the Vishnu temple both at Nagar, though of good size, are not of much artistic merit. Tradition says that they have been brought in the 17th century by Raja Man Singh.

The smaller bronzes must have been quite numerous at one time and must have belonged to a number of schools, the earlier bronzes were Buddhist of the north-western Kashmir and Chamba-Lahaul tradition dating from the 8th century onwards. Dr. Hermann Goetz mentions in *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba* (1955) that Buddhist bronzes in the early Pala style have been found in Kulu and Chamba (Chhatrarhi).

Svetosvav Roerich who has made a special study of Kulu art writes in his book *The Art of Kulu Valley* (1967) that the bronzes were mostly figures of the Buddha, Avalokitashvara and Bodhisatva Padmpani in either standing or sitting postures. An early Mahishasurmardani of the Gupta-Kashmir type was seen many years ago at Nagar, and was perhaps one of the earliest Hindu metal images in this region. It is about a foot high standing on an oblong plain plinth with just two moulding projections and has a round simple halo behind the head of the goddess, her right rear hand holding a sword high above the head in a horizontal position, and the trident pierced into the body of the Buffalo-demon at her feet. Of refined proportions the bronze is of fine workmanship, though very simple in its details. The sword held horizontally

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above the head has been seen in several Kulu Mahishasurmardani bronzes and carvings.

The better specimens of earlier bronzes belong to the Pratihara-Rajasthani Hill pattern of the 11th and 12th centuries. They belong mostly to Lakshmi Narayan or Gauri-Shanker groups, rarely Suryas, with elaborate back supports,—usually flanked elephants, lions, *Makaras*, and peacocks. The nibus or halo was of many-petalled rich floral type and rested against an architectural superstructure sometime terminating in an *Amalaka* finial. In both these groups the goddess was depicted sitting on the god's left knee in a slightly flexed pose and in the case of the Lakshmi-Narayan bronzes Vishnu was supported by a Garuda of a human type and in postures found in some medieval sculptures from Ajmer. The figures were elongated, well proportioned and wearing tall crowns. In the Vishnu bronzes the disc had a flame ascending from its hub while the long mace had a prominently ribbed terminal. The whole composition was well balanced and usually of very good workmanship. These finer bronzes may have been brought from outside the area, but their general style has been repeated in a number of later images which while following the original prototype, show a progressive deterioration of form and execution. These later bronzes could be of Vishnu, Durga, Saraswati, Lakshmi-Narayan and Gauri-Shanker group as also figures of Rama, Krishna and Ganesha.

Metal images of the later Kashmir-Chamba type and Chamba-Lahaul style have been occasionally seen in Kulu. Some were of very good quality others were again a local adaptation of these forms. Most of the early images were made of the *Astadhatu* bronzes (eight metal alloy) and, as such, held in great esteem by the people.

PAINTING

The Kangra art of painting is sufficiently distinct in character and complexion from the typicla Mughal miniature to suggest an entirely separate school of painting. Percy Brown writes in *Indian Painting* (1947) that this particular class of work emanates from two large areas of northern India, namely, Rajputana and the Punjab Himalayas. Rajput miniatures are essentially Hindu in expression and in many aspects demonstrate that they belong to the indigenous art tradition of India, and is closely related to the classic frescoes of Ajanta. Older and more profound than the contemporary paintings of the Mughal, in order to understand its ancient lineage it is necessary for the moment to retrace our steps to a previous period in the history of this subject.

Much has been written by now about the art of the Punjab Himalaya-Kangra

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painting, Pahari art, Himachal painting, Himalayan art. Whatever name we may give it has left absolutely no scope for a fresh introduction or even a modest repetition. Over and over again its qualities have been described, peculiarities emphasized, various styles discussed and attempts made to establish different schools mainly on the basis of the use of particular colours in particular areas, their mode of application, treatment of the human figure and their regional techniques. No endeavour has, however, been made to thrash out the problems or to develop the existing theory of the origin of this particular kind of indigenous Indian work. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to do it now.

The history of the origin of Kangra painting is still obscure. The theory which finds favour with art historians aims, directly or indirectly, at a correlation of Kangra art with the Mughal miniatures. The earliest paintings which have emerged from the hills of the Punjab so far date from the middle of the 17th century, a date that nearly corresponds, although it may be a sheer coincidence, with the date of dissolution of the Mughal Court. It is stated that the break-up of the Mughal Court led to a dispersal of its Court painters, some of whom found shelter in the shady retreats of the Punjab Himalayas. The paintings of the Punjab hills are accordingly ascribed to the "refugee" Mughal Court painters. The theory, although much valued, remains so far unsubstantiated; and we might think it quite fit therefore to view the problem from a slightly different angle, based upon a close and careful examination of the history of the origin of the ruling families and the founding of the various Rajput principalities in the Punjab hills. Two possibilities of the origin of Pahari painting at once strike our imagination as we read through the pages of the history of the Punjab Hill States.

In the first place, it seems to be very likely that the seeds of painting were originally brought into these hills by the rulers of the plains who, in some instances, were driven away by their diminished heritages and in others by the Muslim invaders. Many of these rajas came up to the central western Himalaya where some of them succeeded in carving out new principalities for themselves. The history of the Punjab Hill States is almost filled with instances of this kind, and it would suffice here to quote the principal authority, which, after taking due notice of each of the hill states individually, sums up in the following words the story of all such migrations.

"We know, from literary sources that the kingdoms of Kashmir, Trigarta (Kangra) and Kuluta (Kulu) existed and were ruled by Rajas in the earliest period of which we have any cognizance. At the same time it is possible and even probable that the remote and inaccessible valleys continued under the sway of the Ranas and Thakurs who enjoyed practical independence. The *Apthakurai* (i.e., the rule of the

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Ranas and Thakurs) was followed by the rise of Rajput principalities, which held dominion down to comparatively recent times, and some of which still exist. These were all founded by the Rajput adventurers who either came directly from the plains or were cadets of one or other of the noble families which had already established themselves on these hills."

"Again the Simla Hill States were mostly of ancient origin, the oldest of them being Bushahr and the other states were founded by adventurers from the plains or cadets of the other states". This is what Dr. Hutchison and Dr. Vogel write in their book *History of Punjab Hill States* (1933).

When and whence these adventurers toiled into these hills is only a matter of conjecture, but from the accounts and genealogies of the ruling families it is quite clear that while some of them established themselves as early as the 7th century A.D. others arrived as late as the 15th or 16th centuries.

From reliable sources, if unwritten folklore can be relied upon, it is learnt that besides nobles, retainers and members of their household skilled craftsmen, fort-builders and painters accompanied many of those Rajput adventurers. It would not be wrong to assume therefore that as soon as those groups were able to establish themselves in the new lands, the painters and others resumed their traditional works, spheres of which in the course of time extended to almost every nook and corner of the western and central Himalayas. The art of the Punjab Hills, in other words, may be described as nothing but a more northern development of the Rajput art of the plains. The great excellence achieved by the Punjab hill painters is ascribeable to the undisturbed conditions of peace and prosperity that prevailed in the seclusion of these hills.

Supporting this theory are a number of collections of early paintings scattered all over the hills which are almost identical in style and technique and even similar in composition of the primitive and archaic Rajput works of the Indian plains. The paintings that have come from Basohli, near Jammu, a collection traced in an old Brahmin family at Nirmand in outer Seraj of Kulu by O.C. Sud, a collector, some collections possessed by some old families at Rupar and in the surrounding hills, and many other stray pieces that have from time to time emerged from the hills and are now in private and public collections, closely resemble the early Rajput works of the plains. An unbiased study of early Kangra painting, compared with Kishangarh, Udaipur and other styles of Rajasthan, would at once reveal the unmistakable resemblance between the two schools.

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One very interesting collection was noticed by Mr. O.C. Sud sometime back, in the possession of an elderly resident of Junga (Keonthal), a petty state in the Simla hills, now merged in Himachal Pradesh. This notable collection, more or less like those mentioned before, is entirely made up of very old and early Rajasthani paintings and contains mostly pictures of musical moods and other religious subjects. The owner explained to Mr. O.C. Sud that the paintings had been brought to Junga or painted by the artists who accompanied the ancestors of the former ruling Sen family which originally came from the great Indian plains several centuries ago.

It would be worthwhile again recording here the story of the immigration of the Sen family into this region from the plains, as narrated by the able historians Dr. Hutchison and Dr. Vogel. From the collected records it is gathered that one of the ancestors of the present Sen family of Junga was established at Allahabad in the time of Shahabuddin Ghori in the middle of the 12th century. To avoid him he had fled from Bengal. His son Rup Sen wandered further afield westwards and reached Rupar, in the Punjab, where he built a small fort and established himself as a petty chieftain. He remained at constant war with the Muhammdans who ultimately succeeded in slaying him. He had three sons who fled in three directions : Bir Sen to Suket, Giri Sen to Junga and Hamir Sen to Kishtwar in Jammu. From the viewpoint of Kangra art history, this dispersal appears to be an important link in connecting the story of the collections of early paintings that have emerged from the hills of the Punjab. Each of these three founded a state in the seclusion of the Punjab Himalayas, and the present Raja of Junga is the 78th in the line from the founder Giri Sen. This, although one of the many instances that may be recalled from a close study of the history of the entry of Rajput families from the plains into the Punjab hills, is perhaps the most significant one since it explains the presence of the various early Basohli-Jammu, Suket, Mandi, Kulu, Kangra and the Junga collections in their respective palaces. And although history does not say, or perhaps deems it insignificant and unimportant to do so, whether painters and other skilled workers did, or did not, accompany these Rajput adventurers from the plains, it is more than likely that like other members of their household and court, the skilful craftsmen in every field must have come along in the company of these emigrants to assist, and perhaps to amuse, their lords during their rugged and monotonous flight. Did not the Emperor Humayun bring with him, from Tabriz to India, the famous artist Mir Sayyad Ali, illustrator of the *Hamzah Nama* ?

The second possibility of the origin of Kangra painting is that a community of painters originally grew up and flourished in the sequestered dells of the Punjab Himalayas before their work came to the notice of the present day world of art. Their work, it may be said, is wrongly correlated with the Mughal or Rajput work of the plains and should be termed as independent. The solution to the problem of strong

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affinities and similarity in style, technique and even composition shown by the Kangra to the "plain" work of the Rajputs is in a way suggested by the nature of the problem itself. It is assumed that the *Pahari* and the *Maidani* (of the plains) painters both originally received their training together in one great centre of learning, a university where students from different parts of the country came to receive their training in various trades. Where and when this great centre of learning flourished is a question that requires a well reasoned out solution, and is therefore left to be studied and answered by the students of art history. That this great centre of learning flourished in Kashi, the present Varanasi, has been suggested by many eminent native scholars of Kangra, with whom views were exchanged on the subject.

The problem of slight variations in the 'character' of the paintings of the two schools is explained by the fact that when these 'students' came back to their respective homes after receiving their instruction from the *Alma mater* they started art as a profession in the places to which they belonged, taking care to guard it closely by following it from father to son. It is quite natural that their art became directly influenced by the local circumstances, folklore, life and the landscape of the particular region where they worked and that the quality of their work depended solely upon the degree of development of their personal talent and skill.

Thus relative absence of the Pahari paintings prior to the 17th century are best accounted for by a corresponding absence of other indigenous paintings on paper during the period from the country as a whole. Before the advent of the Mughals important and independent principalities existed in Jammu, Basohli, Kangra, Guler, Chamba, Nurpur, Mandi, Suket, Bilaspur, the Simla hills and Sirmur. The Mughal political and cultural influence entered the hill states when Akbar annexed them. But politically the annexation was only nominal for it implied nothing more than recognition of the Mughal suzerainty over these hill states by the rajas who paid a yearly tribute. Akbar invited hundreds of painters from all over India including Gujarat and Rajputana; and there is every likelihood that some of the artists from the hills must have joined the Mughal Court-artists, and they were entrusted with the work of painting miniatures and illustrating the masterpieces from Sanskrit and Persian literature. By the end of Jehangir's reign the population of painters in the capital had grown too large to be accommodated in the imperial ateliers. Those who could not find employment in Delhi had by force of circumstances, dispersed in various directions in search of patrons. Some naturally found their way to the courts of hill states, where they came in contact with the indigenous artists of the Basohli school. This contact became all the more marked when even prominent artists from the Mughal Court were dismissed by Aurangzeb along with the musicians. According to Dr. M. S. Randhawa, the first exodus of artists from Delhi to Basohli and Nurpur states took place in 1680-1690 A.D., during the reign of

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Aurangzeb whose puritanical zeal had dampened art activities in the city of Delhi. The intermingling of painters belonging to different schools the old indigenous Rajput school and the new sophisticated Mughal school that brought about the fusion and new integrated idiom is now known as the "Kangra School of painting". According to J. C. French, the stiff archaic art of the Himalayan Rajput assimilated and absorbed the easy line of the Mughal style and the result was the beautiful school of Indian art known as the "Kangra valley", or "Kangra *Kalam*", as the leading centre of art was the state of Kangra.

When artists and artisans in considerable number were constantly seeking refuge in the hills it was but natural that no one state could possibly absorb all of them. No hill state was rich enough to employ all the artists who fled to the hills and, in consequence, they spread out far and wide wherever their talents could secure them a living. Thus they established many centres of Pahari miniature and wall paintings, such as Basohli, Jasrota, Guler, Kangra, Sujanpur Tira, Nadaun, Chamba, Mandi, Suket, Kulu, Bilaspur, Arki, Nahan, Kotla, etc. Probably Junga and Jubbal in the Simla hills were also centres of Pahari miniature paintings as the places have yielded many paintings which indicated local variations.

The style of painting which developed in these centres came to be known after their places of activities, such as Basohli School or *Kalam*, Kangra *Kalam*, Kulu *Kalam*, Bilaspur *Kalam* and so on. In all there were 38 centres. The artists from one centre migrated or were invited to another centre. Sometime they were sent with the dowry to join in the new homes of their daughters. Thus there was intermingling of artists in these centres. Therefore, the main features of Pahari paintings are to be found in all the different schools, but with regional variations.

Guler School

The little state of Guler is considered to be the fountain head of all the Pahari schools of painting and *breeder of the greatest style in all the Punjab hills.* In the Guler Darbar collection there are several paintings which, though undated, are no doubt correctly ascribed by the tradition prevailing at the Guler court, to the period of Raja Goverdhan Chand (1745-1773 A.D.). Guler is the offshoot of Kangra state, and its foundation as a separate kingdom in the 15th century A. D is the subject of a well-known legend which is not quite relevant to our theme. Guler, which is about 32 kms. distant from Kangra, appears to have enjoyed a period of comparative peace, conducive to artistic activities, during the reign of Goverdhan Chand (1745-1773 A. D.). The Guler workshop produced works of considerable merit, due no doubt to the liberality and interest of Goverdhan Chand, who must be regarded as one of the foremost patrons

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of Pahari miniature painting. Of the several portrait studies of Goverdhan Chand in the Guler Darbar collection there are some equestrian paintings, the earliest of which can be assigned to c. 1740-1745 A.D. judging from the youthful face and figure of the Raja.

Though all the Rajas of Guler down to 1890 A.D. were liberal patrons of art, Raja Goverdhan Chand showed special interest in its development. There is an extraordinary simplicity and charm in the paintings, done early in his reign but later on we see the large scale Mughal style and technique of portraiture successfully depicting themes from the Hindu epics and mythology. The style became mature in the subsequent reign of Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790 A.D.). Raja Bhup Chand followed him in 1790 A.D. and was the last ruling prince of Guler. Both were liberal patrons of Guler art. The domestic and royal life formed the subject of a number of paintings. In addition there are pictures on religious and romantic topics. Guler was annexed by the Sikhs in 1811 A.D. in the time of Bhup Singh, and from this time onward to 1890 A.D. painting was done in the Sikh style and fashion as it had evolved at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Lahore.

Specimens of early paintings of the Guler style is a group of fourteen paintings, all of them illustrating the *Ramayana*. Of the fourteen early Guler illustrations to the *Ramayana*, twelve are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Bosten, the thirteenth is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and the last in the J. C. French collection. The subject is the dramatic moment in the epic when Sita has been captured by Ravana, the demon king of Lanka and her husband, Rama has collected his monkey hosts with a view to storming Ravana's citadel for effecting her rescue. The series is not dated but in view of its rounded treatment of the figures, its use of the tree idiom similar to those of the Basohli paintings of that period and at the same time, its slightly awkward admixture of schematic structure and lively naturalism, we can perhaps attribute it to 1720 A.D. when the pious Raja Dalip Singh (c 1695-1745) was the ruler of Guler.

From Guler artists went not only to Tira Sujanpur but to other hill states including Basohli and Chamba. Meanwhile, in the state of Kangra proper, there arose a remarkable ruler, Sansar Chand (1775-1823 A.D.). His grandfather, Ghamand Chand (1751-1774 A.D.), had already made Kangra the paramount state in the valley and founded the capital of Tira Sujanpur on a glade and hill above the Beas river. Sansar Chand was only ten years of age when he assumed power in 1775 A.D. and became the most renowned ruler of Kangra, and after Goverdhan Chand of Guler, the most generous patron of art.

The *Ramayana* paintings are the earliest dated examples of the Kangra Kalam so far known to us. They are dated 1769 A.D. and appear to have been painted in

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Kangra. This supports the view that there was a pre-Kangra phase just as there are similar phases in Guler, Jammu, Jasrota, Basohli and other states. The set of *Ramayana* paintings were painted at Ghamand Chand's court, and they developed out of a pre-Kangra phase at Kangra. The series as it exists today consists of 28 examples in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir of Bombay. The date appears on the reverse of each miniature as VS. 1826-1769.

Karl Khandalavala says that after Goverdhan Chand's death in 1773 A.D. some Guler artists took service with Sansar Chand at Kangra. Dr. M.S. Randhwa observes "Parkash Chand also had cordial relations with Sansar Chand II (1775-1823 A.D.) of Kangra whom he visited frequently. Manohar Kaul mentions that there is a painting in the Punjab Museum, painted at Nadaun in which they are shown together. Hence it is likely that artists drifted to the court of Sansar Chand from Guler, possibly as early as 1780-85 A.D. This is also confirmed by Dr. M. S. Randhawa and John Kenneth Galbraith in their book *Indian Painting* (1968).

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand mentions in his article "The Pictorial Situation in Pahari Painting" published in Marg (September, 1968) that there is no doubt that the King Prince, Raja Sansar Chand, who ascended the Gaddi in 1775 A.D. at the age of ten, became in his youth, an inveterate patron of the art of painting. He himself is reported to have taken lesson in drawing as a young prince. And he brought together the best talents he could get hold of from all nearby states. He was a romantic monarch, vital, aggressive and given to good living. In 1786 A.D. he reoccupied the fort of Kangra. It was impregnable to the artillery of the times, and hence was the symbol of power in the Punjab hills. "He who holds the Kangra fort holds the Hills," thus it was said then. Sansar Chand became therefore the suzerain of the valley and went on to conquer the neighbouring hill states. The years following were the most glorious in the history of Kangra. Artists, dancing girls, singers and story-tellers flocked to the court. "It is this period of twenty-year (1785-1805. A.D.)", says Karl Khandalavala in *Pahari Miniature Painting* (1958), "that saw the rise and greatest achievements of the Kangra school of miniature painting, the fountain head of which was Sansar Chand's famed atelier".

In 1805 A.D. the Gurkhas from Nepal besieged Kangra fort. For three years a state of anarchy prevailed. Sansar Chand was compelled to seek the aid of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh of Punjab. In 1809 the Sikh army attacked the Gurkhas and drove them across the Sutlej. As a result of this aid the fort again fell into the hands of Ranjit Singh. Depressed by his misfortune, Sansar Chand led a retired life at Nadaun and Alampur from 1810 onward. Along with his daily routine of prayers, he spent his time listening to music, watching performances of the dance, playing chess and examining paintings. In 1820 William Moorcroft, an English traveller, saw Sansar Chand at

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Alampur. He mentions that the Raja was still fond of dancing and had many artists in his employ and possessed a large collection of pictures.

With the death of Sansar Chand in 1823 the school not only lost its greatest stimulus but much of its stability. Anirudh Chand (1823-1831 A.D.), his son was also a generous patron of the arts and we find him often depicted with his courtiers. After six years in c. 1828 Anirudh Chand first retreated to Arki (Baghal in Simla hills) and then to Garhwal rather than marry his sisters to Sikhs. Shortly afterwards two princesses were married to Raja Sudarshan Shah (1815-58) of Garhwal. It is possible that a number of Kangra artists also accompanied Anirudh Chand into exile and also migrated with the princesses to Garhwal, escaping the troubled circumstances of Kangra and finding patronage that could no longer be extended to them at home.

The most active and prolific school of painting was at Tira Sujanpur under the patronage of Sansar Chand (1775-1823 A.D). All the earlier paintings were painted there and at Alampur and the later once at Nadaun, all on the bank of the Beas. Very little painting, if at all, was done at Kangra proper, which remained under Mughal occupation till 1786 and Sikh occupation from 1810 to 1846.

In the words of Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, "the series of pictures commissioned by Maharaja Sansar Chand were on the heroic scale. The *Bhagvata Purana*, the legendary life of Krishna, the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva, instinct with the mysticism of physical love, the love story of Nala and Damayanti in the *Mahabharata* epic, a *Ragamala* series, Keshav Das's *Baramasa*, the *Sat Sai* of Bihari, full of songs about Krishna as model hero (*Nayak*) and Radha as heroine (*Nayika*), were all illustrated by Kangra court artists. Also, many Durbar scenes were executed, and imaginary near-portraits of the Ranis in the *Zenana*, particularly in toilet scenes, where the lovely women are shown mostly in the ambivalent metaphors of the Krishna cult, to the incarnation of Radha, being spied upon in their most private moments by the "best of lovers, Krishna".

With the death of Sansar Chand in 1823, the Kangra school did not come to an end. The painters and their descendants continued to work at various hill courts not only during 1825-1850 A.D. but even thereafter. Some paintings belonging to this period are quite praiseworthy but the majority are mechanical and indifferent.

The daughters of Sansar Chand took with them the best paintings of Kangra to Garhwal when they went there to marry Raja Sudarshan Shah in 1831.

The chief feature of Kangra paintings are delicacy of line, brilliance of colour and minuteness of decorative details. As Ananda K. Coomaraswamy observes, "Vigo-

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rous archaic outline is the basis of its language." The central theme of the painting is love, and its sentiments are expressed in a lyrical style full of rhythm, grace and beauty. Impressed by it Coomaraswamy writes, "What Chinese art achieved for landscape, is here accomplished for human love". To the Kangra painters the beauty of the female body comes first, all else is secondary.

Nurpur School

Very little has been written about Nurpur, an important centre of Pahari paintings. Nurpur, like Guler, being near the plains had also come in early contact with the Mughal emperors. Raja Basu Dev (1580-1613 A.D.) had troubles with the Mughals during the reign of Akbar, but became reconciled with his son Jahangir when he became emperor. This fact is testified by a famous traveller William Finch who describes the portrait of the Nurpur chief Basu Dev in the fort at Lahore in the time of Jahangir. Jagat Singh (1619-1646) however entered the service of Jahangir and must have come in contact with the work of Mughal painters. Rajrup Singh (1646-1661 A.D.) was also in the employ of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb was fanatic in his resolve to rule strictly according to the tenets of his religion. He put a ban on music and painting. He even destroyed many works of art. As the artists were now deprived of royal patronage, they migrated to provincial courts. This exodus took place during the reign of Raja Mandhata's (1661-1700 A.D.) time. He built a Thakurdwara in Nurpur fort and decorated is with the fresco paintings dealing with the life of Krishna. In one of the panels, according to tradition, there is a portrait of Mandhata himself. Unfortunately, it has been covered with white-wash. Some paintings ascribed to the reign of Prithvi Singh (1735-1789 A.D.) are extant. Most of them belong to the reign of Bir Singh (1789-1846 A.D.), a contemporary of Parkash Chand (1773-90) of Guler and Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra.

The National Museum in New Delhi and the Himachal State Museum in Simla, acquired 98 and 48 paintings respectively from one Mian Kartar Singh of Nurpur, belonging to the collection of his master Ram Singh Pathania who set himself up as the Wazir (Minister) of Jaswant Singh, the minor son of Bir Singh of Nurpur (1789-1846). Bir Singh was deprived of his throne by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab in c. 1815 and died in 1846 when Jaswant Singh was about seven years of age. Ram Singh was the son of Sham Singh, the last Wazir of the state. Having proclaimed the young Jaswant Singh as the raja of Nurpur, and himself as wazir, he joined a rebellion in 1848 against the British. The rebellion was due to the fact that after the first Sikh war certain hill tracts which were ceded by the Sikhs to the British were not restored by the latter

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to their original hill rulers whom the Sikhs had deposed. The rebellion was put down in 1849, and Ram Singh who fled to Kangra was betrayed, taken prisoner, and banished to Singapur.

This collection was damaged in a fire said to have occurred in Ram Singh's house after his rebellion had failed, and a large number of the miniatures were partly burnt. Some are just fragments. Karl Khandalavala says that if all these traditional facts are accepted—and there is no reason to doubt them,—then we can conclude that the collection had been formed by 1849. Whether Ram Singh himself formed it or whether he inherited it in whole or in part, it is not possible to say. However it is regarded as a family collection and thus we may assume that it was begun before Sham Singh's time. Apparently, it was not this collection which Dr. Hirananda Shastri examined, because he explicitly states that it was the collection of the Raja of Nurpur, and makes no mention of the miniatures being damaged by fire.

Dr. M. S. Randhawa and Dr. W. G. Archer visited Nurpur in 1953-54. There they saw the private collection of Mian Kartar Singh of Bassa waziran, near Nurpur. These paintings were studied by them. Dr. Randhawa mentions in his book *Basohli Painting* (1959) that the earlier ones among them were dated 1710-1760 by Dr. W. G. Archer, and were presumably painted during the reign of Dayadhata (1700-35) and Prithvi Singh (1735-89). None of these bears any date, and Archer's dating is based on style only. It is very likely that the paintings in primitive style, which he has dated 1710, were actually painted in the period 1680-1690 during the reign of Mandhata (1661-1700). Portraits of Mandhata are preserved in the Lahore Museum and Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Mandhata was a *mansabdar* of Aurangzeb, and it is very likely that on account of his contact with the Mughal court, some artists came to him about 1680. According to Archer, these paintings differ from Basohli painting in the simple plainness of their composition, a greater delicacy of the treatment of physical type, and finally in their choice of milder and less feverish colours. The prevailing colours are reddish-brown, sage green, dark green, grey, and mauve. As in Basohli paintings, so also here willows and cypresses are depicted. The clouds are sometimes shown as small spirals on the horizon. Faces of women are usually sad and serious, and in many cases decorated by strands of hair curling down the cheeks over the ears. The *Rasamanjari* paintings in the collection of Kasbirbhai-Lalbhai of Ahmedabad were also most probably painted at Nurpur, and there is no evidence to support Khandalavala's surmise that they were painted at Basohli. In fact there are a number of paintings of this type in this collection, which is the first authentic collection discovered from Nurpur. Moreover, no painting in this style have been traced from Basohli or Jammu. Hence Khandalavala's insistence that these paintings are from Basohli is based on no factual evidence whatsoever. According to Dr. Archer, the Basohli style was finally

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eclipsed between 1760-70. No doubt, the Kangra style had matured at Guler by this time, but Nurpur artists, though they adopted the sinuous grace of the Guler female type, retained the bright red, blue and yellow colours of the Basohli style and created paintings of great beauty.

A theme popular with the artists of Nurpur was the ordeal of Narayan, the saint of Damthal. Many miracles are attributed to Narayan who performed penance at the present site of Damthal Ashram. It was, however, the ordeal of drinking poison which profoundly stirred the imagination of the hill people, so much so, that it formed the theme of many paintings, including murals. On hearing that Narayan performed miracles, Jahangir, who was camping at Shahadra, sent for him. He asked him to take poison in his presence, and Narayan after remembering his Guru Bhagwan, swallowed six cups of poison and died instantaneously. In the paintings Narayan is always shown along with Bhagwan, who is encouraging him in his hour of trial. Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur built the main temple to the memory of Narayan at Damthal in 1646 A. D. This painting from Nurpur is in the National Museum, New Delhi. It has been reproduced by Dr. W. G. Archer in his book *Indian Miniatures*, published by the New York Graphic Society in 1960. He states that the incident caused a great sensation and is still commemorated in Damthal by frescoes painted on the walls of the temple. The presiding ruler bears no resemblance to the emperor Jahangir but must clearly be intended to represent him. The style with its hot colours and use of large distended eyes is based on Basohli models, but the lack of rhythmical energy, the weak lines of the canopy and slackness of composition suggest that the artist was no longer at Basohli itself. As the choice of subject is of no great interest to Basohli we may presume that the painter was then a resident of Nurpur.

Chamba

To anyone interested in Himalayan art and culture Chamba is a very interesting spot, because it has been preserved completely invoilate from the Mohammedan invasions. Therefore it has proudly preserved its ancient art and culture. In Chamba, a paralled school of painting had developed under Basohli and Guler influences in about 1720 A. D., and this continued throughout the nineteenth century. No doubt that Chamba was visited by William Moorcraft in 1820 and G. T. Vigne in 1839 A.D. but the earliest mention by any foreign was made by Baron K. E. Von Ujfalvy, a Hungarian anthropologist who visited Chamba in 1881. He obtained from Raja Shyam Singh, then a boy of fifteen years, some pictures, six of which he described and reproduced in the account of his travels entitled *Aus Dem Westlichen Himalaya*, Leipzig (1884).

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The subjects are the following :

1. A Raja or more probably a Raja's son, hawking accompanied by a man on horseback and four man in *Gaddi* dress carrying various weapons.

2. Raja Charhat Singh (?) performing his daily worship.

3. Raja Raj Singh (?) with a rani and four female attendants carrying two hukkas, a peacock, a fan and a sword.

4. Raja Charhat Singh and a rani watching a thunderstorm.

5. Raja Raj Singh seated in full darbar inside a pavilion in a pleasure garden.

6. Ganesha and two females.

It is not known what became of these pictures. Ujfalvy mentions that the objects which he collected in the course of his travels have partly been placed in the Ethnographical Museum of Paris. J. C. French, an English I. C. S. officer travelled in the area in 1929-30, on horseback and wrote his book *Himalayan Art* (1931) in the best tradition of the enlightened amateur.

Dr. Hermann Goetz, Dr. M. S. Randhawa, Jagdish Mittal of Hyderabad, Dr. W. G. Archer and Kari Khandalavala have done creditable work on Chamba paintings. The latest work is by Dr. Randhawa who has brought out a monograph entitled *Chamba Painting* (1967).

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand mentions in an article named "Laughing Colour", published in the *Times of India* (Annual Issue, 1966) that by the 17th century a vigorous folk style, with Basohli-like feature had evolved in Chamba area of the Punjab hills, not far from Basohli. Dr. Hermann Goetz is of the view that Raja Prithvi Singh (1641-1664 A. D.) introduced the Basohli style into Chamba. There was an intimate connection between the two principalities of Chamba and Basohli at that time, because Raja Prithvi Singh was married to a princess from Basohli. This relation also remained cordial during the succeeding reign of Raja Chatter Singh (1664-1690). Udai Singh (1690-1720) also made a peace-treaty with Basohli in 1708, but it did not last long, and in 1725 A. D. Dhiraj Pal of Basohli attacked Chamba and was killed in the battle. Karl Khandalavala states that Basohli artists went to Chamba.

A portrait of Ugar Singh (1720-35 A. D.) from Sir William Rothenstein,

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London, now acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, indicates that the Basohli style had attained a foothold in Chamba. This is what Karl Khandalavala thinks. According to him, the portrait belongs to the last years of Ugar Singh's reign, namely c. 1733-1735 A. D. or it may have been prepared after his death at the instance of his son Umed Singh (1748-1764 A. D.). In 1735 A. D. Chamba town was burnt down by Ugar Singh to thwart his rival Dalel Singh. Dr. Hermann Goetz believed that paintings in the early style must have been burnt in that fire.

This style prevailed in Chamba from the time of Ugar Singh (1720-35 A. D.) and continued to 1764 A. D. when Umed Singh died. Umed Singh is described as "a just ruler and an able administrator" by Dr. Vogel. Umed Singh also began the construction of the Rang Mahal, a garden palace. He was married to a Jasrota princess and we know that Pandit Seu's family had already settled in Jasrota and its members sought employments under various hill chiefs. Therefore, an artist from Jasrota would easily be available to Umed Singh. And he did procure the services of the artists of the family of Pandit Seu. He probably also had refugee painters in his court. A series of the *Ramayana* paintings attributed to the last years of his reign, viz., 1760-1764 are fine examples of early Chamba style which is one of the valuable possessions of the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.

Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794 A. D.) of Chamba was a contemporary of Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790 A. D.) of Guler. Prakash Chand married a Chamba princess named Anant Devi. Dr. B. N. Goswamy's study shows that the third son of Nain Sukh (Nain Sukh was the son of Seu) named Nikka migrated from Guler to the village of Rajaul in the taluka of Rihlu which at that time formed a part of the presence of Nikka in the Chamba area receives support from the revenue records of 1868 A. D. The other two sources are an inscription at the back of a painting in the Chamba Museum and a portrait sketch of Nikka which was obtained by Jagdish Mittal from a family of Chamba artists. There is sufficient evidence that Nikka and his descendants were in the service of the royal house of Chamba. The third son of Nikka, Chhajju also appeared in the records. He seems to have got lands for his maintenance from the raja of Chamba. Hence there is a strong evidence of cultural links between the states of Guler and Chamba which led to the development of painting at Chamba.

There is a painting entitled "Raj Singh Watching a Dancer" in the N. C. Mehta collection, now in the Gujarat Museum at Ahmedabad in which he is depicted as a beardless youth, hardly fifteen years of age. Raj Singh (1764-94) was born in 1755 A. D. and was only nine years old when he became the raja of Chamba. So the painting must have been painted about 1772 A. D. Karl Khandalavala states that the famous Uṣha-Aniruddha series of Chamba paintings can be attributed to Ram Lal, and he

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believes that is Ram Lal who painted the portrait of young Raj Singh just now mentioned. Ram Lal was the fourth son of Nain Sukh. The paintings of a fine Usha-Aniruddha series are now partly in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba and partly in the Punjab Museum at Chandigarh. According to Karl Khandalavala, another Usha Aniruddha series, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, was painted at Chamba by Ram Lal. These paintings are characterised by delicate naturalism and brilliancy of colour. The female figures are exquisitely beautiful and are characterised by a gliding grace and aristocratic elegance.

The patronage of painting which was started by Raj Singh was continued by his successor Jit Singh (1794-1808). In 1800 A. D. he defeated Bijai Pal of Basohli, but later on he restored the conquered territory on payment of a war indemnity. He was a great patron of painting and his principal court artists were Ram Lal, Chhaju and Harkhu. The favourite themes of these painters, apart from portraiture, were Kasavadeva's *Rasikapriya*, *Baramasa* from the *Kavipriya*, Bihari's *Sat Sai* and the romance of Usha and Aniruddha.

Charhat Singh (1808-1844 A. D.) and his successor Sri Singh (1844-70 A. D.) also carried on the tradition of patronizing the artists. In 1809 A. D. Chamba along with other hill states came under the influence of the Sikhs, but its able Wazir Nathu had friendly relations with Ranjit Singh and thus saved the state from exorbitant levies. The Rang Mahal which, as stated earlier, was completed by Charhat Singh and was lavishly decorated with wall paintings. While others are to be found in the Akahnd-Chandi Palace, in the Lakshmi-Naryan temple and in the houses of the painters Durga and Magnu. The Rang Mahal paintings were done over a long period by a number of artists of unequal calibre, though the total project perhaps remained the conception of one or no more than a few master painters and craftsmen. Among the painters mentioned are Durga and Mian Tara Singh of Chamba, a few other local painters, and some from Basohli. Most of them were completed before the end of the 19th century. The result is fairly mixed in its stylistic detail.

The subjects of these wall paintings are mainly Krishna and his love affairs, but there are other more religious subjects such as scenes from the *Ramayana* or paintings of Ganesha, and the like. Many of them are of exquisite quality. These paintings are stylistically related to miniature paintings of Chamba, but executed to a much larger scale, some of the larger panels measuring about 1.83 mts. by 1.22 mts. The National Museum, New Delhi has done a praiseworthy work of rescuing and restoring these wall paintings. In 1964 after four years of painstaking work, they removed and transferred 134 panels to the National Museum in New Delhi, twenty-eight to the Himachal State Museum, Simla, and six to Bhuri Singh Museum, in Chamba.

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Kulu

The first writer to mention the Kulu school was J. C. French in his *Himalayan Art* (1931). French visited the Kulu valley in September 1930. He reproduced an example, Krishna and Radha rising from the pine trees (*Himalayan Art*, Plate 2), from the collection of the rai of Rupi, in Sultanpur, the descendant of the raja of Kulu. He mentions that "apart from its importance as an example of the primitive Hill Rajput art, it is interesting because it comes from the Kulu valley." The rai of Rupi has an interesting collection of pictures. The oldest paintings are Krishna and Radha rising from the pine trees, prince and princess playing chess, and a lady feeding a serpent with milk. All these paintings belong to the eighteenth century. There are two more pictures in the same style, but of inferior artistic quality. One shows a lady watching a fight between two rams, a favourite sport not only in these hills but all over northern India. These pictures constitute a distinct Kulu school which has never yet been mentioned. French observes that "the complexion of the faces are fair and ruddy, like those seen in the Kulu Valley now-a-days. The architecture of the hills, and pine trees are to be found in these pictures. In the rai of Rupi's collection this school is continued into the nineteenth century." There is one picture of a lady feeding a huge wild boar, entitled Sri Ragini Gundogri, and another on the same theme depicting a lady feeding oranges. Both these pictures, though showing a strong Kangra valley influence, are clearly derived from the earlier primitive. They are of the nineteenth century and probably represent the closing phase of this school.

Apart from these, a set of 270 paintings illustrating anecdotes from the *Ramayana* are in the possession of Raja Raghbir Singh at Shangri in Kulu valley. Paintings of events from the various sections of the *Ramayana*, viz. Bala Kanda, Ayodhya Kanda, Aranya-Kanda, Kishikindha Kanda, Lanka Kanda, Sundra Kanda and Uttara Kanda, are in distinctly different styles and appears to be the work of different artists. It seems that a group of artists was working at Sultanpur, the capital of Kulu, and they produced this remarkable album of the *Ramayana* paintings.

Dr. M.S. Randhawa in *Basohli Painting* (1960) and Svetoslav Roerich in *Art in the Kulu Valley* (1967) have tentatively placed the period of the origin of Kulu Valley style of painting between 1688 and 1719, when Raja Man Singh was the ruler of Kulu, but the family tradition traces its beginnings somewhat earlier, during the reign of Raja Jagat Singh (1637-77) and Raja Bidhi Singh (1673-1688).

Dr. W.G. Archer has also reproduced two Kulu paintings in his book *Indian Miniature* (1960). He says that "unlike most regions in the Punjab hills, Kulu obtained its rough and boisterous painting from stray Mughal artists who may have

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reached the state late in the seventeenth century. The picture (Girl making music to four deer c. 1700) illustrate a musical mood but is one of a series which includes a portrait of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. Such a fact would not in itself raise any very strong presumption of date, but the circumstance that no other emperor is represented in the series and that Kulu painting seems unaffected by Basohli makes it not unlikely that pictures of this kind were produced either then or early in the eighteenth century. Their crudity of execution precludes any lasting contacts with sophisticated centres and it is possible that local types may well have influenced the kind of figure adopted. This influence of music is powerfully suggested by the four deer gathering about the standing player. Barbaric roughness, however, is the picture's chief characteristic and this may accord with the wild and stony bleakness of Kulu itself."

The rough type of painting as mentioned above (now in the National Museum, New Delhi) was maintained in Kulu throughout the eighteenth century. In its closing years, however, a more accomplished artist reached the capital and for a brief period a new style of painting came into existence. The dominant influence may well have been from Chamba, for while Basohli and Guler influences moulded Chamba painting, a type of art distinct from both these areas also flourished at Chamba. Women were shown with elongated forms, tall and severe, against the plainest backgrounds. And it is probably this kind of Chamba picture which precipitated the new style.

The family tradition of the descendants of the rajas of Kulu is that the painting in Kulu was introduced in the reign of Raja Jagat Singh (1637-72). Karl Khandalavala in *Pahari Miniature Painting* (1958) and Dr. W.G. Archer in *The Indian Paintings from the Panjab Hills* (Vol. I, 1973) mention that Jagat Singh was married to a Chamba princess. Raja Prithvi Singh (1641-64) of Chamba was contemporary of Jagat Singh of Kulu. Raja Prithvi Singh was married to Basohli princess, probably to a daughter of Raja Sangram Pal (1653-73) of Basohli. He introduced the Basohli style into Chamba. Moreover the rajas of Kulu and Basohli belong to the same clan and Basohli state was founded by one Bhog Pal (765 A.D.), a son of the then raja of Kulu, who subdued Rana Billo and founded the Balor state. Owing to these family relations between Kulu and Basohli and matrimonial relations between Basohli-Chamba and Chamba-Kulu, there is every likelihood that Jagat Singh might have been attracted towards the painting, and encouraged artists either direct from Basohli court or Basohli artist of Chamba court to migrate to Sultanpur.

Jagat Singh was an ardent Vaishnava, and it was he who introduced Vaishnavism in Kulu Valley. He got the image of Raghunathji (Rama) from Ayodhya, and

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installed it in a temple which he built at Sultanpur. According to Raja Raghbir Singh of Sangri, the *Ramayana* series mentioned above were painted in the reign of Jagat Singh (1637-72) and Bidhi Singh (1673-88). Dr. M.S. Randhawa writes that the painters were a group of Kashmiri Brahmins whose descendants still live in Kulu.

Jagat Singh's son Bidhi Singh is said to have married the daughter of Raja Chatter Singh (1664-1690) of Chamba. With the help of Chatter Singh of Chamba he invaded Lahaul and expelled Ladakh influence from the upper valley. Then Lahaul was divided between Chamba and Kulu. In one account it is stated that Lahaul was transferred to Kulu as dowry with a Chamba princess. This intimacy between Chamba and Kulu made the way easy for the artists to migrate to the peaceful Kulu Valley.

Under Man Singh (1688-1719) the Kulu state reached the zenith of its power. He brought large areas under his sway. The *Ramayana* series, as mentioned above, were painted in his time. During the reign of Jai Singh (1731-42) and Tedhi Singh (1742-67), painting in this style continued to be carried on at Kulu. A portrait of Tedhi Singh has been reproduced by W.G. Archer in his book and has been ascribed by him to Nurpur. Karl Khandalavala says that "This portrait unmistakably appears to be a product of the Kulu *Kalam* with characteristic willow tree dominating the entire composition". According to him, the portrait was painted in Kulu. Dr. Randhawa also agrees with this view, and says that it was painted at Sultanpur for the Raja Pritam Singh's (1767-1806) reign was as a whole uneventful but prosperous. He was contemporary of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra, Raja Jit Singh (1794-1808) of Chamba, Raja Goverdhan Chand (1745-73), Prakash Chand (1773-90), and Bhop Chand (1790-1826) of Guler. This period is considered to be the zenith of Pahari painting and can be termed the "Golden Age of Pahari Painting". It was in his period that the Kangra style reached Kulu.

Svetoslav Roerich states in *Art in the Kulu Valley* (1967) that "the *Madhu Malati* set and the *Bhagavata Purana* were painted by the artist Bhagwandas, who worked in Raghunathpura in the reign of Raja Pritam Singh (1767-1808) of Kulu. The *Bhagavata* set bears the date of 1794 A.D., while the *Madhu Malati* set, 1799 A.D. We can assume that these must have been the dates of the completion of both these sets and in the five intervening years Bhagwandas could have painted some other paintings. Raghunathpura undoubtedly stands for modern Sultanpur which was the capital of Kulu at the time when these sets were painted as it remains to this day, though there was another place in Kulu by the name of Raghupura."

According to Karl Khandalavala, Bhagwan had also painted *Rasa Panchadhyayi*

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series, dealing with Krishna themes which are in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

A number of *Ragmala* paintings of more or less the same period and of related characteristics have burnt ambur, powder blue or red backgrounds and make use of gold. The borders may be yellowish, brown ochre, powder blue, red or of no colour at all. The average miniature is not of large size.

The old residence of the rajas at Kulu, the Shish Mahal at Sultanpur had a number of mural paintings. Some of the paintings were damaged by the earthquake in 1905. What little remains belongs to the late period of Raja Pritam Singh and Raja Bikram Singh (1808-16) Dr. M.S. Randhawa visited Sultanpur in 1953. He writes that "on the walls were some paintings in Kangra style painted at the close of the 19th century. Then came a courtyard with a small room in a dark corner. Here I found the most interesting mural, I had yet seen in the Punjab Himalayas. It showed the panorama of life in the hills in early 19th century, sadhus, beggars, hillmen and women, shepherds, husband-men, rajas and their wives and the entire Hindu Pantheon adoring the Devi. Later on it was removed to the National Museum at New Delhi where it is on display".

Mandi

William Moorcraft, who has mentioned about Kangra painting in the court of Maharaja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) visited Mandi in March 1820, when Raja Ishwari Sen (1788-1286) was the ruler of Mandi. He has not mentioned anything about Mandi painting though Mandi State Gazetteer (1920) refers at page 20 about a picture of William Moorcraft in the state treasury. G.T. Vigne was the first European who has mentioned in *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardo* (1842) about the Mandi wall paintings. He visited Mandi in 1839 A.D. At that time Balbir Sen in (1839-1851) was the raja of Mandi. He speaks of Balbir Sen in the following terms. "The young Raja himself is short and stout in person, with a jovial, good-natured and remarkably European like countenance. I partook of the Raja's hospitality in a part of the palace which had lately been fitted up and painted in the Indian fashion, in fresco on a snow white wall."

J.C. French also visited Mandi, in 1929-30. He saw the private collection of raja of Mandi (Raja Joginder Sen 1913-1948 A.D.) and reproduced two portraits of Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727 A.D.). He has stated that these pictures are of Sidh Sen, the wizard raja of Mandi, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1684. These are the oldest pictures in Mandi. The portrait of Raja Keshab Sen (1574-1604 A.D.) in Mandi palace is clearly not contemporary, but in the style a hundred years ago. One

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picture shows Sidh Sen (1684-1727 A.D.) surrounded by his women. The second picture shows him sitting on the banks of the Ganges, for by his magic power he could fly to the sacred river every morning for his prayers and bath and be back again in Mandi in time for his midday meal. In Sidh Sen's time Guru Govind Singh (1666-1707 A.D.) the famous Sikh guru visited Mandi. Sidh Sen entertained him hospitably.

Dr. W.G. Archer, Dr. M.S. Randhawa and Dr. M.R. Anand visited Mandi many times between 1954 and 1966. According to Dr. Randhawa, it seems that the art of painting in Basohli style was introduced in Mandi towards the later part of the reign of Sidh Sen. This style must have continued during the reign of Shamsher Sen (1727-81) and his successor Surma Sen (1781-88).

In the late years of Shamsher Sen's reign, however, his brother Dhur-Chatia (dirt-licker) acquired so much power in the affairs of the state that the heir-apparent, Surma Sen had to flee as his life was in danger at the hands of Dhur-Chatia. Surma Sen and his tutor, a Brahmin named Bhairagi Ram fled to Suket and Bilaspur, and thence finally to Nadaun where they found an asylum at the court of the great Sansar Chand of Kangra (1775-1823 A.D.). Later on Surma Sen raised a force, re-entered Mandi and drove out the party that was inimical to him. When he succeeded he ruled well and the state progressed.

Karl Khandalavala views that Surma Sen during his stay at Sansar Chand's court must undoubtedly have come into contact with the latter's famous atelier of artists. When he became the ruler of Mandi and it prospered, it is likely that he emulated the example of the paramount hill chief and took some artists into his employ. Therefore, Surma Sen was responsible for the introduction of the Kangra style in Mandi.

When Ishwari Sen (1788-1826 A.D.) succeeded to the gaddi he was four years of age. The administration of the state was in the hands of Bhairagi Ram, who had been the Wazir all through the previous reign. During the minority period the truculent nobles again began to give trouble, with the object of turning the wazir out of office. Seeing their intention he applied for help to Sansar Chand of Kangra, who was too ready to avail himself of the opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the state. About 1792 A.D. he invaded Mandi and plundered the capital. Raja Ishwari Sen was conveyed to Tira Sujanpur and detained as prisoner at Sansar Chand's court in Nadaun for twelve years. Meanwhile the state was left in the hands of its ministers, and ordered to pay a tribute of one lakh of rupees. Deprived of the presence of their ruler and robbed of some of the richest provinces, the artists of the time of Surma

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Sen (1881-88 A.D.) had fled from Mandi after 1892 A.D. and sought safety in other states.

The young Ishwar Sen was released only after the defeat of Sansar Chand in 1805 A.D. at the battle of Mahal Morian by the combined forces of the Gorkhas and the confederacy of hill chiefs which had been formed against him. During his retention at the court, Ishwar Sen married the daughter of Sansar Chand's brother Fateh Chand. He returned to his state and ruled peacefully until 1826 A.D. When Sansar Chand was beleaguered in Kangra fort by the Gorkhas from 1805 to 1809 A.D. Kangra was ravaged, and the great atelier of Sansar Chand disintegrated. The artists who constituted it naturally sought employment in other states and a few, who were probably known to Ishwar Sen, settled in Mandi.

It seems that the Kangra artists, among whom there was Sajnu, came to Mandi after 1805. Kishori Lal Vaidya and Om Chand Handa's book *Pahari Chitrakala* (1969) places his date of arrival in Mandi in 1808 A.D. He painted a series of illustrations to the Hamir Hath which he presented to his new patron Raja Ishwari Sen of Mandi on 16th Mag, 1867 B. S. or 1810 A.D. It took the artist two years to complete the series. These are in Kangra style of the early 19th century with many figures and palace buildings occupying the picture-space. Several of them depict battle scenes. Their workmanship is good and they provide data for the Kangra style of the period 1800-1810 A.D. The illustrations, numbering 21 miniatures, are still in the collection of the Mandi Darbar and have been reproduced by Dr. Hira Nand Shahstri in the *Journal of Indian Art* (Vol. 17, No. 132 October 1915). This collection illustrates the Hindi poem—the *Hamir Hath* or obstinacy of Hamir in which a legendary account is given of the fight between Hamir, the removed chief of Chittor and Ala-ud-din Khilji. On the back of the pictures can be found an account of the story they illustrate, but its authorship is unknown and it differs in same respects from other extant versions.

Sajnu being a competent artist it is not unlikely that he and Fattu, another of Sansar Chand's painters who settled in Mandi, were the heads of the atelier maintained by Ishwari Sen (1788-1851 A.D.).

Among the pictures dealing with mythological subjects, the most interesting are those representing the ten *Mahavidyas*, or manifestations of Durga. They illustrate faithfully the *Dhyanas*, or descriptions, which are, given on the back of the pictures. and afford a clear idea of the aspects of the Goddess as conceived by the Tantriks. Artistically, they exhibit the merits of the Indian pictorial art of the late Mughal period.

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In the National Museum, New Delhi there is a *Ramayana* painting, bearing an inscription that it was painted for a person, Kapur Giri by name, at Mandi. Among other paintings and portraits of Mandi, one portrait of Raja Ishwari Sen is worth mentioning. At present this portrait is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. It depicts Raja Ishwari Sen worshipping Shiva and Parvati. The border consists of figures of worshippers and deities. The inscription states that it was painted by Sajnu in 1808 at the order of Ishwari Sen. Two other portraits of Ishwari Sen are in the collection of N. C. Mehta.

He also has two portraits of Raja Balbir Sen (1839-1851 A.D.). Both these pictures are indifferent in workmanship. The painters of one of these portraits is ascribed as Vaikuntha of Nurpur and the date is 1840 A.D. Just after Balbir Sen came to the throne G. T. Vigne, the English traveller has left an interesting account of the murals in the Mandi palace, one of which shows Shiva and Parvati in Kailash. He described this mural thus : "I partook of the Raja's hospitality in a part of the palace which has lately been fitted up and painted in the Indian fashion, in fresco, on a snow-white wall. I derived some amusement from an inspection of the new paintings on the walls, and of these, one in particular attracted my attention, as it was a specimen of the not unusual attempts of a Hindu Raphael to embody his ideas of heaven. In the centre of the celestial city, of mixed Hindu and Saracenic architecture, was a courtyard, surrounded by a plain octagonal wall, its circumference, such was the perspective, could not have exceeded one hundred yards within the court was a building, or vestibule, in which Parvati sat (having nothing better to do in heaven) smoking a hooka, by way of whiling away eternity, and around her were four female attendants, whose chief occupation seemed to be that of fanning their mistress. In front of the vestibule was Shiva, her husband the four-armed, performing a *pas seul*. Three of his arms were brandished with the grace of a castanet player, and in the fourth hand he bore aloft a miniature image of his bull Nandi. On either side, as spectators, were arranged all the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, and evidently disposed to venerate and applaud the performance of their divine master. On the outside were arranged the buildings of the city, and around them again arose the peaks of Kailash amongst which and near the narrow gateway of the courtyard, were several fakirs and ascetics, who were patiently waiting until death enabled them to enter it." The palace where these murals exist are being used as record room of district office.

Balbir Sen was twenty-two years of age at the time of his accession, and four months afterwards Vigne visited Mandi. This shows that the murals described above were painted during the reign of Raja Zalim Sen (1826-1839 A.D.). According to Kishori Lal Vaidya and Om Chand Handa, the work of mural painting was also done in Mian Bhag Singh's Haveli during 1846-1851 A.D. Mian Bhag Singh was one of

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the relatives of Raja Balbir Sen (1839-1851 A.D.). These murals are still in good condition. Most of these murals were painted by one Muhammadim, a Muslim painter whose ancestors came from Oudh and settled in Mandi. Muhammadim worked for Balbir Sen and Vijai Sen (1851-1902 A.D.).

In *Himalayan Art* (1971) Madanjit Singh has summed up that "the Murals are inside one of the palaces of the rajas of Mandi. This was used as a harem and the murals were conceived as always, to serve as interior decorations. Nevertheless, even in their decline the paintings are a good indication of what this art must have been in its youth if examples of the earlier periods had survived. Evidence suggests that Mandi was once a favourite resort for the families of traditional painters. The names of one Sajnu a Hindu, and a muslim painter, Muhammadi, occur among the artists who are said to have come from the courts of Sansar Chand to reside in Mandi."

Suket

The origin of miniature paintings in Suket, like other Pahari schools, goes back to the middle of the 18th century. It is perhaps during the reign of Raja Garur Sen (1721-1748 A.D.) that the painting in Basohli style was done in Suket. It was also during his time that Baned, now called Sundernagar, was founded as the state capital. He had good relations with Kulu and Kangra.

Karl Khandalavala has mentioned about the early eighteenth century Suket Karam. He observes that "the existence of a pre-Kangra style at Suket explains the origin of miniatures such as the study of Bahadur Singh with children (reproduced in Archer's *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, 1952, Fig. 51). Archer regards Bahadur Singh's portrait study as an example of Jammu paintings but we are now in a position to identify this portrait as being that of Bahadur Singh of Suket, younger brother of Raja Bhikam Sen (1748-1762 A.D.) of Suket. A similar portrait study, in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jahangir of Bombay, bears an inscription stating that the portrait is of Bahadur Sen. The suffix 'Sen' makes it certain that the personage in question is Bahadur Singh of Suket particularly when the period of the study fits in completely with the period during which Bahadur Singh lived. It is true that there is no ruling prince of that name in the mid-eighteenth century, but on further consideration there can be no doubt that the subject of these two portraits is Bahadur Singh, son of Garur Sen of Suket and brother of Bhikem Sen (1748-62 A.D.). The inscription does not refer to him as a raja. It is well to remember that intimate family studies such as that of Bahadur Singh and his children could never have been done outside the state of the personage depicted therein".

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Raja Ranjit Sen (1762-1791 A. D.) had married relations with Sirmur and Guler. During Ranjit Sen's reign the administration was in the hands of an able and faithful minister, named Narpat, on whom the raja placed great reliance. The records speak of the raja's rule as having been a time of peace and prosperity in Suket, when the law was strictly upheld and property was secure.

The daughter of Kishan Singh, Ranjit Sen's younger brother was married to Maharaja Sansar Chand of Kangra. In 1792 when Sansar Chand attacked Mandi, Raja Bikram Sen (1791-1838 A.D.) gave his allegiance and assistance to him. Sansar Chand's force was also accompanied by Kishan Singh, who was Bikram Sen's uncle. All these relations and peaceful atmosphere in Suket attracted the artists from Guler and Kangra to Suket (Sundernagar). The *Ramayana* painting as mentioned by M. S. Randhawa in his book *Basohli Painting* (1959) were perhaps painted during this period.

Therefore, the paintings in Kangra style must have been done at Sundernagar during the reign of Bikram Sen (1791-1838 A.D.) who was contemporary of Maharaja Sansar Chand (1775-1823 A.D.). W.G. Archer mentions in *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Vol. I (1973), that S. N. Gupta has listed a portrait of Bikram Sen seated, and holding a hookah in "catalogue of Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore, 1922". It is dated (c. 1810 A.D.) The other important paintings as mentioned by W. G. Archer are "Shiva and Parvati" (c. 1800 A. D.) and "Awaiting the lover" (c. 1810-1820 A.D.). Formerly these were in the ancestral collection of the raja of Suket. He has also mentioned about three paintings from a Baramasa series (c. 1830-1840 A.D.) which are still in Suket collections.

Most of the paintings from Suket have been disposed away. Very few have been left with the collection of the raja of Suket and M. S. Randhawa has mentioned that a set of *Bhagavata Purana* paintings, which in style resemble the collection of the raja of Suket is in the possession of Rajendra Singh ji of Calcutta. It is possible that they were painted by the same artists.

Bilaspur

The origin of the painting in Bilaspur possibly dates back to the time of Raja Dip Chand (1650-1667 A. D.). He restored the prestige of the state. He helped Aurangzeb in the North-West Frontier expedition and received a present of five lakhs of rupees. He shifted his capital from Kot Kahlur and founded the town of Bilaspur in 1654 on the right bank of the Sutlej, now under Govindsagar.

Dr. W. G. Archer has reproduced a portrait of Raja Dip Chand (1650-1667

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A. D.) in *Indian Miniature* (1960). Commenting on this portrait he writes that "during the second half of the seventeenth century, inferior Mughal artists trained in the late Shah Jahan style, penetrated the Punjab Hills, a tumbled tract of country adjoining the North-Punjab Himalaya. The region comprised thirty eight states each of which maintained a feudal court. In none of these states conditions have been favourable to art and as a result the only kind of pictures produced was a crude and rough imitation of Mughal imperial ways. Here is shown Raja Dip Chand of Bilaspur (c 1660 A. D.) entertained by singers. Mughal delicacy has been abruptly abandoned but the green background and use of flat planes suggest acquaintance with Mughal models. There is not as yet any marked originality of style . . . . Such pictures are unimportant as works of art but prove that although painting may not have existed on a large scale, it was not totally wanting in these vast hills."

Raja Bhim Chand (1667-1712 A.D.) in conjunction with Guru Govind Singh (1667-1708 A. D.) helped the raja of Kangra against the Mughal and defeated the Mughal governor Alif Khan in the battle of Nadaun. Later on he fell out with the Guru and made league with Kangra, Guler and other states and fought many indicisive battles with the Sikhs in the areas adjoining the present towns of Anandpur and Kiratpur. Portraits of Bhim Chand reproduced in *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills* show that old-style painting continued in his time.

Ajmer Chand (1712-1742 A. D.) had a peaceful reign of long duration. He was of a religious temperament and frequented the temples. Finding favourable atmosphere and patronage many artists from the neighbouring centres like Basohli and Guler came to Bilaspur during Ajmer Chand and his successor Devi Chand's (1741-1778 A. D.) time. It is a historical fact that Devi Chand's reign was one of great prosperity for Bilaspur because the octroi income in the town amounted to Rs. 20,000 a year. Devi Chand had friendly relations with Raja Ghamand Chand (1751-1773 A. D.) of Kangra. Devi Chand went to the help of Raja Ghamand Chand, when Abhai Chand of Jaswan invaded Kangra. Raja Devi Chand was married to a Katoch (Kangra) princess named Nagar Devi and late in life had a son named Mahan Chand born in 1772 A. D.

During the eighteenth century painting Bilaspur was fertilized by artists from Basohli and in the second half of the century by an artist family, perhaps connected with Guler. The result was a type of painting notable for its rich brown and green colours and expressive of distortions and graceful naturalism.

Here we see Krishna (c 1770 A. D.) devoid of his crown, playing on the flute in the somber blackness of a gathering storm. Vast clouds lashed with lightning loom

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low in the sky, while cattle, hypnotized by his flute, look eagerly towards him. Some emerge from the forest, others swim the Jamuna. In every animal only one desire is apparent—to come to Krishna. This supreme resolve is expressed by the style and composition of the picture. Behind the flute-player and comprising the picture's centre are three vertical tree trunks on which all the other lines—whether of trees, hillsides, of lightning or inlets of the river—irresistibly converge. Each cow is portrayed in a rigid angular fashion, its head thrust sharply forward, the rows of tense eager forms possessing an insistent unity. At the same time, the dark reddish brown, green, and black imbue the picture with a somber richness and a grave exaltation.

In his book *Pahari Miniature Painting* (1958) Karl Khandalavala mentions that the paintings acquired by Roerich belong to what must have been an extensive stories illustrating the *Bhagavata*. On one of the miniatures of this set in Roerich's collection the name of the artist is inscribed as Kishan Chand. The family which possessed these *Bhagavata* miniatures give the traditional date of Kishan Chand as (c. 1750 A.D.) He was a member of one of the artist families which it is said were working at Bilaspur in the reign of Devi Chand (1741-1778 A.D). Kishan Chand's family probably migrated from the plains after 1740 A.D. and in course of time its members may have been influenced by various developments which were taking place during the early Kangra phase (1740-75 A.D.) at several centres in the hills such as Jammu, Guler, and Kangra. But the Bilaspur painters were not imitators and their work bears the impress of their originality.

Another important set of miniature paintings from Bilaspur is known as *Madhavanala Kamakanda*. These miniatures narrate the story about a handsome brahmin named Madhava, a veena player who lived in the city of Pushpavati and all the women of the town were in love with him, to the consternation of their husbands. The king himself in order to test the famed fascination of Madhava, and his veena brought him into the presence of the queens, who were so smitten by his beauty, that the king bansihed Madhava. After much wandering Madhava came to the court of the king of Amaravati who received him with honour. A young courtesan named Kamakanda, who was a favourite of the king of Amaravati so fascinated Madhava by her dance-performance that he offered her the very betel leaf which the king had given him as a mark of honour. The king felt insulted and ordered Madhava to leave the town. As Madhava was leaving he met Kamakanda who invited him to her house. He accompanied her and they both fell in love with each other. Next morning they parted with broken hearts. Madhava repaired to Ujjain where the king of Ujjain came to know of his misery. After satisfying himself about the genuineness of the love which Madhava and Kamakanda bore to each other, the king of Ujjain invaded Amaravati, and united the two lovers in marriage with much pomp and ceremony.

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This story was popular with Pahari artists and the romance in Basohli style was also painted in Bilaspur. The series came from the possession of a family for one of whose ancestors it had been painted in Bilaspur in the middle of the 18th century A.D. The tradition of its origin appears to be reliable. Fourteen paintings from this set are in the Roerich collection, while two miniatures are now in the National Museum, New Delhi. Karl Khandalavala says that if the traditional origin of the series is accepted, then it is possible to reason that the series is the work of a Basohli artist who migrated to Bilaspur in the mid-18th century. Even after Raja Devi Chand and his famous painter Kishan Chand's time, miniatures continued to be painted at Bilaspur. Among them are two sets of Ragamala paintings in Bilaspur *Kalam*, painted in the first quarter of the 19th century, which are not so fine as the earlier paintings. There are a number of *Ragamala* paintings from Bilaspur in various collections, including that of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Some Ragamala paintings from Bilaspur have been reproduced by Waldschandt's *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration*. The condition in the state were not favourable for cultural pursuits after 1785 A.D. Mahan Chand (1778-1824 A.D.) was not a good ruler and the state suffered greatly by several invasion. In March 1783 George Forster, the traveller, passed through Bilaspur, in the disguise of a Muhammadan merchant, on his way from Nahan to Jammu & Kashmir. In 1820 Moorcraft passed through Bilaspur. He refers to the raja's palace decorated with flowers in fresco. Dr. M. S. Randhawa has reproduced three paintings from the collection of raja of Bilaspur, in his work on *Kangra Valley Painting* (1955). These paintings are : (1) In Search of Krishna, (2) Holi Festival of Colour, (3) Krishna's Magic Flute. The first two have also been reproduced by Dr. W. G. Archer in his article "Problems of Painting in the Punjab Hills'' published in *Marg* (March 1957). They belong to Bilaspur as in them Kangra influence is too apparent. Yet along side Kangra influences another tradition is present and when we recall other pictures in Bilaspur style, especially those with rich reddish brown colour, we are forced to conclude that this other tradition must be that of Bilaspur and Bilaspur alone. "In Search of Krishna" can thus be confidently accepted as a Bilaspur picture of about the year 1800. The local style is present as well as Kangra influence. "Holi Festival of Colour," can also be accepted as of Bilaspur origin though in date it is twenty years later. The Kangra style is now predominent, but the rich colouring and the special stance of Radha and central figures, all reveal the obstinate persistence of the earlier traditions.

Mahan Chand was followed by an equally worthless successor, his son, Kharak Chand (1824-1839 A.D.). G. T. Vigne and Baron Hugel passed through Bilaspur in 1835 and 1839. Vigne visited Bilaspur twice. In 1839 Vigne found Bilaspur in a deplorable condition with the bazaar almost deserted and the people so oppressed that much of the population had fled to other states. Finally a revolt occurred led by the

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raja's uncle Jagat Chand. Shortly afterward the raja died. Two of his queens were Sirmur princesses. After Kharak Chand's death they went to Sirmur and took with them every thing including precious documents and valuable paintings.

J. C. French has mentioned in his book *Himalayan Art* (1931) that "there are some wall paintings in the palace at Bilaspur. This palace is sharply divided into two styles of architecture. The older part, built about sixty years ago, is in the Rajputana style. The rest of the palace, was built about thirty years ago by Raja Amar Chand (1883-1889 A.D.), the artist Raja, in the Hill style. The frescoes are in the upper storey of the Mogul building, Radha and Krishna and floral designs, in a rough Kangra style. The walls of the Darbar Hall of Bilaspur, built about forty years ago, are painted all over with flowers and birds. At the end of the hall above the windows are some frescoes in the late Kangra style". These palaces are now under Govindsagar lake.

The best examples of Bilaspur paintings are now found in the collection of raja of Bilaspur and Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandel of Udaipur (Rajasthan) who is a close relation of Bilaspur royal family. All these collections show that Bilaspur possessed a highly distinctive style.

Nalagarh

J. C. French has mentioned in *Himalayan Art* (1931) about the Nalagarh and Palasi frescoes, but Dr. M. S. Randhawa was the first to write in detail on the Nalagarh paintings in *Lalit Kala* (No. 1 & 2) in which miniatures from Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh's collection have been reproduced. According to him, the Nalagarh style came into being in the second half of the 18th century. Before this the state was divided by the friction in the royal family. After the death of Bhup Chand (1705-1761 A. D.) a revolt took place in Nalagarh and raja Man Chand and his son were killed. The people then approached raja Devi Chand (1741-1778 A. D.) of Bilaspur and invited him to take over the state. This, however, he declined to do, and made Gaje Sinah, a member of the Hindur (Nalagarh) ruling family the king. As a result of this Gaje Singh had good relations with Bilaspur. It is very likely that the artists from Bilaspur court may have gone to Nalagarh. There are two portraits of Gaje Singh, one is in the collection of Raja of Lambagraon and other is in the Chandigarh Museum. In these portraits Gaje Singh and his family are seen receiving Inder Singh of Nurpur. W. G. Archer has dated these portraits to c 1770 A. D.

This was the period when the art of painting was flourishing in the Kangra valley under the patronage of Sansar Chand (1775-1823 A.D.) and Parkash Chand (1773-20 A.D.) of Guler. Nalagarh was ruled by raja Gaje Singh's son Ramsaran Singh (1788-

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1848 A.D.). The rajas of Nalagarh and Kangra had marital relations from time to time. A daughter of raja Ramsaran Singh was married to raja Parmod Chand in 1820. He was the son of Sansar Chand. Raja Isri Singh, grandson of raja Ramsaran Singh was allied by marriage with the house of Guler and Kangra. These marriage ties must have promoted cultural relations between these two states. As a result the work of Kangra artists must have come to the notice of Nalagarh artists.

In his quest for paintings in the Punjab Hills from 1950-55 Dr. M. S. Randhawa visited Nalagarh and examined the collection of Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh. He is a descendant of raja Ramsaran Singh (1788-1848 A.D.). In this collection, apart from the work of the two artists in Kangra styles, there are several paintings in primitive style which was prevalent in the hills before the evolution of the Kangra style, and which has been described as the so-called Basohli Kalam. It seems that this style of painting was prevalent in all the hill states of the Punjab Himalaya in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even after the emergence of the Kangra style, it continued to flourish side by side.

Raja Ramsaran Singh (1788-1848 A.D.) was the contemporary of Raja Mahan Chand (1778-1824 A.D.) of Bilaspur. His rule was oppressive and Bilaspur suffered many reverses. The capital was plundered twice by the Gurkhas and left in ruinous condition. On the other hand raja Ramsaran Singh in the early part of his reign extended his dominion and his authority from Palasi to Mattiana, and eastward as far as Ajmergarh on the Yamuna. Finding favourable condition some Bilaspur artists may have migrated from Bilaspur to Nalagarh.

It was, therefore, during the reign of Ramsaran Singh and Bije Singh, from 1788-1857, that the two well-known painters, Hari Singh, a Rajput, and Nar Singh Das, a Brahmin worked at Nalagarh. The paintings of these artists were in the possession of Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh who sold them to the Punjab Government for their Museum at Chandigarh. The work of both these artists is characterised by their love of nature, and they have drawn forest trees and creepers as well as birds and animals with feeling. The notable paintings of Nalagarh are the *Ramayana* and Krishna themes. The artist who painted 'Krishna Playing the Flute' and the single miniature of 'Ram Chandra, Lakshmana, and Sita in the Panchavati' was undoubtedly superior to the artist who painted a regular series, depicting various anecdotes from the *Ramayana*. The painting 'Krishna playing the Flute' is very interesting. Dr. W.G. Archer has described it thus : "Krishna with blue skin, wearing striped trunks, a crown with peacock feathers, a black cloak hanging from his shoulder, stands besides a tree summoning the cattle by playing to them on his flute. A herd of sixteen cows are shown converging on him, eight are about to emerge from the river Yamuna, the remainder are either close at hand or are

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hurrying towards him from the right. A tiny cowherd boy stands behind him. Around them are ranks of trees evenly dispersed across the landscape and slight traces of lightning". The painting "Krishno Playing the Flute" greatly resembles a painting from Bilaspur, which has been published as plate 36 in the *Kangra Valley Painting* (1955). The treatment of trees, foliage and blossoms as well as of birds and animals, is very similar in both the paintings. Flowering shrubs with white and pink blossoms are seen in both the paintings, and there is also a similarity between the faces of Krishna and those of the cowherds, it may well be that the same artist was patronized by the raja of Nalagarh and by the neighbouring state of Bilaspur.

Arki

Arki, the capital of Beghal state in Simla hills was also a centre of Pahari painting. The earliest mention about the Arki painting was made by J.C. French in his work on *Himalayan Art* (1931). He visited Arki in October, 1929 and described the frescoes in the *Diwankhana*, the hall of public audience in the raja's palace. He also saw a collection of paintings of Mian Basant Singh, a cousin of the raja of Arki. He mentions that "Mian Basant Singh paints pictures in the Kangra Valley style. His work is very interesting as a modern rendering of the old art". Dr. M.S. Randhawa visited Arki in 1958 and in 1962. He published an article on "Paintings from Arki" in *Roop Lakha*, XXXII No. I, 1961 and another "Eight Nayikas from Arki" in *The Times of India Annual*, 1962. In *Travels in the Western Himalayas* (1974) he has traced the development of Arki school painting.

Dr. Randhawa has classified Arki paintings into three groups : Basohli, Kangra and Sikh. According to him, a large number of paintings are executed in the primitive style of the hills known as Basohli style. The importance of Baghal collection lies in the fact that quite a number of paintings were painted before Kirpal Singh of Basohli (1678-93 A.D.). Some were painted as early as 1645-1670 A.D. during the rule of Rana Sabha Chand. A large number of paintings are in Kangra style, some of which deal with the theme of *Nayika Bheda* and some illustrate *Bhagavata Purana*. There is another series in the Sikh style with flowing beards. The raja of Baghal and his nobles and soldiers adopted the Sikh fashion of keeping uncut hair, and their soldiers also wore uniforms similar to those of the army of Ranjit Singh.

There are a number of portraits of Rana Mehar Chand (1727-1743 A.D.). In one of the portraits he is shown smoking a hookah with two servants in attendance. In another he is riding a horse. This shows that there was an active school of painting at Arki at this time. All these crude portraits are in the primitive Basohli style. The last portrait in Basohli style in this series is of Raja Bhup Chand (1743-1778 A.D.)

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and may be dated around 1760. The rule of Bhup Chand is remembered for the battles which were fought with the neighbouring states at Bilaspur and Nalagarh. Who were the early artists and from where they came to Arki, is not known. But it is a fact that these paintings were painted earlier than the known Basohli paintings.

The Kangra style seems to have come to Arki only during the later part of the reign of Raja Jagat Singh (1778-1828 A.D.). Anirudha Chand, son of Sansar Chand (1775-1823 A.D.) also sought shelter at Arki on his flight to Hardwar in 1820. Some artists might have accompanied him to Arki, and some may have come earlier from Sujanpur Tira. Anirudha had two sons : Parmodh Chand and Ranbir Chand. At the intercession of the British, Maharaja Ranjit Singh granted them a *Jagir* in Mahal Morian. Prior to that Ranbir Chand resided at Arki and he might have presented some of the paintings to the members of Arki family. Paintings in the Kangra style flourished at Arki during the rule of Shivsaran Singh (1828-1840 A.D.) who was a deeply religious man and built a number of temples. He also built the *Diwankhana* which was decorated with mural paintings during the reign of his son Kishan Singh (1840-1876 A.D.). The paintings in the collection of the raja of Arki deal with the *Nayak-Nayaika* themes, the Krishna legend and the Shiva-Parvati stories. One can trace in these paintings the evolution from the primitive Basohli style to the mature Kangra style.

The paintings of the eight Nayikas are the most refined in the collection of the raja of Arki. They differ from all known Kangra paintings both in their style and in their use of colour. The border of these paintings are slate-blue and the vegetation is painted in grey-green tones. The hills in the background are curved and clouds depicted in the form of spirals on the horizon. The figures of women are tall and graceful. Their faces are round and delicate and their dress consists of a *dupatta*, a bodice which covers only the breast, and a *ghagra* like skirt which in most cases is painted magenta red. The colour, in fact, is lavishly used in the dress of most of the figures.

The frescoes in the *Diwankhana* were painted during the rule of Kishan Chand near about 1850 A.D. They are in decadent Kangra style and are in fairly good state of preservation. The roof has a floral design in which parrots are interspersed with leaves and flowers. On the walls are paintings of Puranic themes and contemporary life. Sikh soldiers on elephants, on horseback, on foot figure prominently. A procession is led by a Sikh carrying a flag followed by prancing horses and a nimble dog. Below it is Krishna subduin g the serpent Kaliya. In another mural a battle between the Sikhs and the Mughals is shown. The battle of the *Mahabharata* with the Kauravas and Pandavas is shown in aother panel. There is also a delightful represen-

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tation of Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava*. Shiva is in penance and Kamadeva, the god of love, is shooting an arrow at him from a tree. As he appears on the scene he shoots his love-arrows everywhere. Numerous couples are shown making love. Even animals and Rakshasas feel the urge for procreation, pairs of snakes are coiled like ropes, and a black buck is seen mating with a doe. Even hermits in their cells feel the pangs of love. Ascetic Shiva, though he reduced Kamadeva to ashes by the ray of light emanating from his third eye is also affected and he marries Parvati.

Another panel shows a scene from the *Ramayana*, viz., the monkeys crossing over to Lanka by a bridge of stones. On the top of this panel is shown the British army with a general and his wife seated on an elephant ahead of troops and guns. It is possible that it represents David Ochterlony who liberated Arki from the Gurkha.

There are also a number of fantastic paintings among the murals. The king of China is represented as a grotesque monster with the neck of a horse and the face of a tiger, followed by his females and leading a nude baby of a similar type. The artist may have got his impression of the Chinese from the Mongolian Kanauras of the Tibetan border land who have large feline faces.

Contemporary life is depicted in an interesting manner. *Gaddi* shepherds laden with their belongings are following their goats carrying panniers of salt, while the *Gaddi* dog follows the flock of goat. Below are acrobats giving a demonstration of their skills, rope-walking, and a woman balancing three pitchers on her head. There are familiar scenes from the late nineteenth century rural life in the hills and are depicted with considerable verve and animation. Above the acrobats is a panel showing Krishna killing Bakasura and lifting the mountain Goverdhana. A panel shows the famous Sindhi lover Punnu leading a camel and meeting his beloved Sassi in the town at Bhambor. Below it is a *Ramayana* panel depicting the abduction scene of Sita. Ravana in the garb of a mendicant is asking for alm from Sita, and on the opposite side is Jatayu the giant bird, and Rama and Lakshmana with Hanuman.

The holy cities of the Hindus also figure among the Arki murals. The city of Ayodhya is shown with Rama seated on a terrace, and Shiva, Brahma, and Hanuman standing in the foreground. In an other painting we see Varanasi with its familiar Ghats.

The Arki frescoes are a visual record of contemporary life in the Punjab hills in the middle of the 19th century. Apart from illustrating religious themes, they tell us how the hill people amused themselves and what were their geographic conceptions, and their peculiar pets, tigers and rhinoceroses. Their representations of the English

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and the Chinese are amusing indeed.

With the rise of the Sikh powers in the Punjab and the extension of Sikh influence in the Hill states, we find a change in the style of painting. This influence is clear from the portrait of Raja Dhian Singh (1878-1904 A.D.), in which he had an untrimmed flowing beard in the Sikh fashion. This portrait is in the collection of Raja Rajinder Singh of Arki.

Sirmur

If Basohli and Chamba in the Ravi valley; Guler, Kangra, Kulu and Mandi in the Beas valley; and Arki, Bilaspur and Nalagarh in the Sutlej valley were the most prolific centres of painting in the western Himalaya, Garhwal and Sirmur in the Yamuna valley in the central Himalaya developed an almost similar mode of expression. Yamuna was the dividing line between these principalities. Garhwal state was on the eastern sides of the river and Sirmur was located on the western slopes. As at Kangra, paintings in Garhwal and Sirmur owed their origin almost certainly due to the migration of artists from Guler, Kangra and probably from Bilaspur, and we can best explain the two styles as parallel developments from the parent stock.

Raja Mandhata (1630-1654 A.D.) of Sirmur was the contemporary of Shah Jahan (1628-1658 A.D.). From his time Sirmur had a good relation with the Mughal emperors. Mandhata helped Khalilullah, the general of Shah Jahan, in his invasion of Garhwal. Under Aurangzeb, this raja again joined in the operation against Garhwal. Raja Budh Prakash (1664-84 A.D.) was a favourite of Jahanara Begum, the daughter of Shah Jahan. Apart from supplying ice, he also used to send musk, wild pomegranates, jungle fowls and pheasants to the princess. Despite the close association of the rajas of Sirmur with the Mughal court, no paintings of the early style either in Mughal or early Pahari style have been found in Sirmur. It appears that no painter from the declining Mughal court migrated to the Sirmur court.

Raja Kirat Prakash (1754-70 A.D.) was an able ruler of Sirmur. He took Pinjore and other surrounding areas from the Sikhs and concluded an alliance with the Raja Amar Singh of Patiala whom he also aided. He also made a great headway against the Gurkhas and by a treaty fixed the Ganges as the boundary between their kingdoms. He was succeeded by his son Jagat Prakash (1770-89 A.D.). There is a portrait of Jagat Prakash, riding with the retainers (captained by Dr. M.S. Randhawa as Sansar Chand of Kangra) in the collection of the Raja of Lambagraon. According to Dr. W.G. Archer, this portrait is in Kangra style and is inscribed on the reverse as "Sarmur Ka Raja Jagat Prakash". Its date has been fixed (c. 1770-1780 A.D.).

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In contrast to Kangra, Sirmur had good relations with Guler and Bilaspur throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Raja Dharam Prakash (1789-1793 A.D.) fought on behalf of Bilaspur in 1793 A.D. against Sansar Chand of Kangra and was killed in the battle. He had no son and his brother Karam Prakash (1793-1815 A.D.) succeeded him. His two daughters were married to Raja Kharak Chand (1824-39 A.D.) of Bilaspur and one daughter to raja Bije Singh (1848-1857 A.D.) of Nalagarh. After the death of Raja Kharak Chand of Bilaspur in 1839 A.D. Sirmur princesses returned to Nahan in 1839. They brought some of the Bilaspur paintings with them.

Sirmur also had good relations with Guler. One of the Queens of Karam Prakash (1793-1815 A.D.) was a Guler princess who was known as Guleri Rani. She played an important role in the history of Sirmur. She acted as regent to young Raja Fateh Prakash from 1815 to 1827 A.D. Thus Guler played a major role in Sirmur affairs from 1800 to 1827 A.D.

Evidently there was a cultural flow between Bilaspur, Guler, and Sirmur during the late 18th and 19th centuries. It appears that a few painters from these centres had moved in the 19th century to Sirmur where they painted with the parent style giving it a new stance which, like Garhwal style, came to be known as Sirmur style.

Like Garhwal, the paintings of Sirmur fall into two periods. The first which began about 1650 A.D. was rudely ended by the Gurkha invasion in 1803 A.D. Prior to that, crude examples of the late 18th century paintings may have been produced, but these are of no account compared with the later phase of paintings which derived from Bilaspur and Guler. From 1803 to 1818 A.D. it is unlikely that any artist from Bilaspur or Guler stayed in Sirmur, and it was only after the local ruler was restored with the British aid that a minor renaissance in miniature painting set in Sirmur.

Many famous European travellers passed through Sirmur. Among them were George Forester in 1783, James Baillie Fraser in 1815, Capt. Godfrey Charles Mundy in 1829, Major Archer in 1829, Victor Jacquemont in 1829, and G.T. Vigne in 1835-39, but none of them had left any account of Sirmur paintings. Alex Comfort has mentioned in his book *The Koka Shastra* (1964) that "when Lord Auckland (Governor-General 1837-44 A.D.) visited Nahan in the state of Sirmur in the early 19th century, he found that the Raja Fateh Prakash (1815-1850 A.D.) had many such pictures (as in the Punjab Hills at Kangra and Guler) with which he regaled the party as soon as the ladies had left. Sets of the sort were painted at Court level. They were made for private delectation, for the intimacy of the bedroom, but despite these aphrodisiac qualities their vogue was small compared with other temporary texts".

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J.C. French, who travelled all over the Punjab Himalaya in search of paintings, also visited Nahan in October 1929. He has mentioned in *Himalayan Art* (1931) that "Only the other day I had a striking example of the way that old pictures are disappearing from the Hills. It was in Nahan the capital of the Sirmoor State. I was looking round Nahan for old pictures, and I went into a temple which had some frescoes on the walls. These were in the Kangra valley style, but coarse and modern. Hanging on the walls of the temple I saw a photograph which interested me. It was of a picture in the Hill style. The picture showed the founder of the temple, an ascetic who died two hundred years ago, with the two tigers who always attended him and the Maharaja of Sirmoor of that age, the ancestor of the present Maharaja, in an attitude of worship. Judging by the lines as shown in the photograph, the picture was not much more than a hundred years old. But old pictures are getting so scarce in the Hills now-a-days that I wanted to see the original. I asked the priest of the temples to show it to me, but he said that it was with the man who had photographed it. The Brahman photographer tried to find me some other pictures in Nahan, but failed completely. Of course Nahan was badly knocked about by Gurkhas at the beginning of the last century. While this would account for a certain scarcity of pictures, it is not a sufficient reason for their total absence".

According to Dr. B.N. Goswamy, one of the earliest painters of Sirmur was Angad. He painted the theme of Durga killing demon Mahishasur. He also painted Chandi temple in 1813 A.D. Dr. Goswamy says that due to confusing state of affairs in Sirmur under raja Karam Parkash (1793-1815 A.D.) Angad might have migrated to Mani Majara for his work.

Most of the paintings in Sirmur were painted between 1820 and 1850. Dr. W.G. Archer has mentioned two paintings from Bihari Sat Sai series from Nahan (Sirmur) and dated them c.1820. Another painting listed by him in *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills* is entitled 'Krishna and Cow' (c. 1830 A.D.) in Sirmur style. This is from the collection of G.K. Kanoria of Calcutta. In this painting Krishna is tending a cow at Radha's door, and looks round to talk to her. Again, there is another miniature on Krishna theme, captioned 'Radha and Krishna in a Storm' painted in 1830. This is now in Central Museum, Lahore. Karl Khandalavala has also reproduced a painting captioned 'Krishna and Gopis Playing Blindman's Bluff' as figure 45 in his book. He has classified it as Sirmur idiom, 1800-1825 A.D.

Raja Partap Chand (*b.* 1827—*d.* 1864) of Lambagraon (Kangra) was married to a daughter of raja Fateh Parkash 1840. There is a portrait of raja Pratap Chand worshipping the goddess Kali. It is dated c. 18?0 and is in the ancestral collection of the Sirmur Raj family, Nahan. There is another portrait of raja Partap Chand of Lamba-

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graon with a lady in Sirmur Raj family. These two portraits are quite different from the one portrait of this raja which is in the Collection of the Raja of Lambagraon as this is in Kangra style. One more example from the Sirmur Collection is 'Shiva & Parvati' (c 1850 A.D.). In it Shiva is seated on a tiger skin. Parvati who is on the left offering a bowl. Above there is a tree and in the distance is seen the mountain.

Jubbal Collection

Raja Yogender Chander of Jubbal has a good collection of Pahari miniature paintings and painted manuscripts. No one has studied them. In the absence of any proper classification it is better to put it under the general heading "Jubbal Collection".

The picturesque Himalayan Valley of Jubbal lies about 90 km. east of Simla between Sirmur and Bashahr Himalaya. James Bailie Fraser, one of the earliest European traveller, who passed through Jubbal in 1815, expressed surprise, "that such mountain should bear in this bosom so much festivity, so many men and the food," Major Archer, another European visited this valley in 1829. He writes that "the view of the valley towards Jubbal is of surprising loveliness and cultivation is so varied and beautiful. Commenting on the fair complexion of the people Capt. Mundy in his *Pen and Pencil Sketches* (1832) remarked, "The people of Jubbal are distinguished by the beauty of the person—some of the natives are nearly as fair as Europeans". Similar views were expressed by a French traveller, Victor Jacquemont who also visited the valley of Jubbal in 1829.

Before discussing the Jubbal Collection, it will be not out of place to throw some light on the historical background of the Jubbal family. Tradition has it that the ancestors of the Jubbal family were once the rulers of Sirmur with their capital at Sirmuri Tal. They belong to the Rathore clan. Transfer from Sirmur to Jubbal in the end of the 12th century is shrouded in mystery. The founder of Jubbal branch was Rana Karan Chand. His descendant Rana Paras Chand who ruled in the last quarter of the 18th century was a strong ruler and a famous soldier. After his death in (c. 1800) a quarrel for the succession took place in the family and the Sirmur tried to poke its nose in the internal affairs of the family. Ultimately with the help of some loyal followers his son Puran Chand (c. 1800-1840 A.D.) was installed as Rana. Like all other states of western Himalaya, Jubbal also came under the sway of the Gurkhas. After the expulsion of the Gurkhas in 1814, it came under the protection of the British Government. Rana Puran Chand was a weak ruler. Hereditary Wazirs became powerful and there was disorder in the state and the British Government had to interfere in the state affairs. Rana Puran Chand died in 1840 and his son Karam Chand (*b.* 1836) was recognised the Rana of the state and was given full power in 1854. He ruled the

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state with ability for 24 years. He was an art lover and had a passion for collecting art objects. He invited artists from outside. He built many temples. Among them the four temples at the source of Giri Ganga are the notable ones. For these temples he brought marble idols from Rajasthan. His daughter was married to raja Narendra Chand of Naudan and his son Padam Chand (1877-1898) was married to a Katoch princess. Jubbal family also had marital relations with Garhwal and Baghal.

No foreign traveller has mentioned anything about Jubbal paintings. Even J. C. French is silent on it, although he also visited Jubbal and mentioned the Late Raja Rana Bhagat Chander in his book *Himalayan Art* (1931). Raja Yogender Chander has quite a varied collection of paintings. In the absence of any proper study nothing can be said authoritatively whether the Jubbal Collection was painted at Jubbal or flowed in the form of marital presents. It is also quite possible that some painting in late Kangra style was done in Jubbal as we find that some manuscripts like the *Gita* and *Bhagwat Purana* were painted there for Rana Karam Chander (1854-1877) and his saint son Padam Chand (1877-1898). These two rulers also had in their court, Sanskrit scholars from Kangra and Hoshiarpur who in Jubbal had written books in Sanskrit on the history of Jubbal and other subjects. These books and manuscripts are still in Jubbal Palace Collection. In Jubbal Palace Records the author came across a letter in Urdu and signed in English by an Englishman. It is dated 1864. This letter was written to Rana Karam Chand from Lahore. It reveals that in 1864 there was an art exhibition in Lahore and some art objects from Jubbal sent by the Rana for the exhibition were very much appreciated. All these facts lead us to believe that at least some painting work had been done at Deora, the capital of the erstwhile Jubbal state.

These paintings were discovered by coincidence by the late raja Rana Digvijai Chander in late 1960s when one day he opened his Toshakha (Treasury House) to look for an old document. They were packed in red cloth in envelopes and each envelope was appropriately captioned by a court caligrapher of Karam Chand. These were lying there in a wooden box. Rana Karam Chand demolished the old palaces and built a new palace in pent roof style. He died at the age of 42. It appears that after his death no one knew about the whereabouts of the paintings and those remained untraced nearly for a century.

Worth mentioning sets of paintings from Jubbal House are Durga Saptshati, Bhagavat and Ragamala series. Among the *Ramayana* themes Rama's Coronation, and Rama-Ravana battle are the best examples.

The former is in the late Mughal style and the later is an exquisite specimen of Basohli Kalam. Five faces Shiva with Parvati on the left on Kailash mountain and

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being worshipped by gods, is yet another fine example of the Kangra style. Krishna themes are so numerous that due to paucity of space it is not feasible to detail each and every one. Twenty-two paintings from this collection have been reproduced by K.L. Vaidya and O.C. Handa in their work *Pahari Chiter-Kala* (1969).

Community of Arts

The above survey leads to the conclusion that the feudal princes of the little hill states of the 17th and 18th centuries, in the valleys of Himachal Pradesh between Yamuna in the east and Ravi in the west, have left to us a rich treasure of Pahari paintings. Therefore, in the remote and isolated valleys, there lived and flourished for some centuries a community of artists whose work became known only after the art had almost died out. Unlike Mughal artists, Pahari painters are largely anonymous, barring some exceptions. Dr. W.G. Archer, Dr. M.S. Randhawa, Karl Khandalavala and Dr. B.N. Goswany, have done a great service to the Pahari painting by tracing the family histories and style of these unknown painters.

Of the various painters who worked in hill courts we have meagre information. Their number must have been considerable, though the names of only a very few have so far come to light. One of the earliest and important family of the painters was Pandit Seu. He appears to have migrated and settled in Guler near about 1720 A.D. and worked for Dalip Singh (1695-1745). Karl Khandalavala says that he was Kashmiri Brahmin, but B. N. Goswamy has reproduced the entry of his sons Nain Sukh and Manaku from the Bahi (Books) of the Pandas of Lahore wherein they called themselves Tarkhan (carpenter) and natives of Guler. Manku made his entry in 1736 A.D. and Nain Sukh in 1763 A.D. They mentioned themselves as the natives of Guler. In view of the fact that Pandit Seu's family was settled in Guler, and he worked under raja Dalip Singh between 1695 and 1744, Archer ventures the opinion that Nain Sukh may have worked first at Guler, then at Jammu and again at Guler, going from court to court. He painted the portraits of raja Balwant Singh with a party of musicians in 1748 A.D. and he was for about ten years with him. By 1760 Nain Sukh and his sons were again back in the court of Raja Goverdhan Chand (1745-1773 A.D.) of Guler.

As for Manaku, Archer holds the opinion that he was probably born in 1710 A.D. and may have survived until 1780 A.D. or 1790 A.D. From Guler he went to Basohli and many have returned to Guler when Balauria was married to raja Goverdhan Chand of Guler. Manaku had two sons, Khusahala and Fattu. Dr. Randhawa and Karl Khandalavala have suggested that Manaku and his son Khushala later resided first at Guler and then at Kangra. When in 1775 A.D. Sansar Chand ascended the Kangra throne, the time may well have come for this great artist family

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to divide. Nain Sukh stayed at Guler, while Manaku and his son, Khusahala moved to Kangra. Nain Sukh had four sons : Kama, Gandhu, Nikka and Ranjaha (Ram Lal). When family grew large at Guler the descendants of Pandit Seu shifted their centre of activities to the courts of other neighbouring princes. This is not only merely to keep their pursuits alive but also for earning their livelihood. The third son of Nain Sukh, Nikka migrated to Chamba between 1764 A.D. and 1794 A.D. when Raj Singh ruled. The fourth son Ranjaha (Ram Lal) moved out of the family home at Guler and settled at Basohli. He painted the *Ramayana* series in Basohli in the year 1816 A.D. These are in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras. Thus Pandit Seu's family settled at various courts and played an important role in finding the style which was later to develop into the Kangra Kalam. This is revealed by the close similiarities which exist between the early Kangra style at Guler, Chamba, Jammu and Jasrota and elsewhere. It was not only Pandit Seu's family, but also there were many other competent painters who worked in the same style at various hill courts.

Many artists worked at the court of Maharaja Sansar Chand. J.C. French mentions the names of the two important painters, Kushan Lal and Fattu. The latter had presented a picture to the raja Balbir Sen of Mandi while he was camping at Alampur Garden. An artist named Sajnu was working in Mandi in 1810 A.D. He was also known to be one of Sansar Chand's painters. Another Sansar Chand's painter was an artist named Hastu. Purkhu and his son Ram Dayal also were in the employ of Sansar Chand. Purkhu specialized in delicate tones and subdued colour.

When the courts of Guler and Kangra became congested with the artists, some of them started to shift to the neighbouring states. Dhandidas, a painter from Guler went to Chamba and worked with Durga and Magnu to execute Ranga Mahal frescoes. Sajnu from Sansar Chand's court first went to Kulu and then in 1808 A.D. to Mandi where he painted in 1810 A.D. Hamir Hath for raja Ishwari Sen. Bhagwan Dass, a painter who appears to have been in the employ of raja Pritam Singh of Kulu, illustrated *Bhagavata Purana* in 1794 A.D. Kishan Chand was a Bilaspur artist who painted a *Bhagavata* set. He flourished between c. 1750 and 75 A.D. His name appears on one of the miniatures of this series in the collection of Svetoslav Roerich. He was a court painter of raja Devi Chand (1741-1778 A.D.) of Bilaspur. Raja Amar Chand of Bilaspur was himself a good painter. Dr. M. S. Randhawa has also mentioned the name of two Nalagarh's Handur painters. Their names are Hari Singh and Nar Singh Das. They worked in Nalagarh during the period 1788-1857 A.D. Mian Basant Singh, a cousin of the raja of Arki was an amateur painter. Dr. B. N. Goswamy has mentioned one Angad from Sirmur who is said to have migrated to Mani Majra in 1813, probably due to Gurkha invasion.

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Types of Paintings

Through the medium of colour and Kalam, these Pahari painters gave shape to their imagination and emotions in the form of paintings which can broadly be classified as miniature paintings, wall paintings, and manuscript illustrations.

Wall paintings appear to have attracted the attention of the rajas as a form of decoration for the palaces and other buildings even before they developed a taste for miniature paintings. This was but natural as fresco painting was regarded as an adjunct to architecture. All the palaces and nobles' houses and temples other than the Shikhara type were decorated with wall paintings. Surviving examples belonging to the 18th and 19th centuries are numerous and can be seen and studied at Arki Baghal (Solan district), Chamba, Dada Siba, Damthal (Nurpur), Kulu, Mandi, Nadaun, Nalagarh, Nurpur, Nahan, Rampur, Sujanpur Tira (especially Narbadeshwar temple) and many other places, Wall paintings from Rang Mahal of Chamba and Shish Mahal, Sultanpur palace paintings of Kulu have been removed to the National Museum, Delhi. The themes illustrated in the wall paintings are from religious and social life. The themes based on love (love of Krishna and Radha) legends as well as classifications of Nayakas or Nayikas (Heroes and Heroines) are also illustrated. Very little has been written on the wall paintings and whatsoever has appeared does not cover all the area. Shiv S. Kapoor has written an article on Chamba wall paintings of Rang Mahal which appeared in *Times of India* (Annual Number 1966). Jagdish Mittal also wrote another article on "The Devi Mural at Kulu" published in *Roop Lekha* (XXXII No. 2). K.L. Vaidya has also worked on Mandi Murals. His findings were published in *Roop Lekha* (XLI Nos. 1 & 2) under the title "Mandi Murals : A Missing Link in Art History". The latest and more comprehensive work on wall paintings of Himachal Pradesh is by Dr. Mira Seth of Indian Administrative Service. She worked unceasingly for ten years and her work has been published by the Publications Division. This is the first major work on Himachal wall paintings.

The art of manuscript illustration and calligraphy was also popular with the Pahari painters. Many manuscripts were written and illuminated during the 18th and 19th centuries. These manuscripts were mostly painted for the nobles and high priests. In some paintings gold was extensively used. The most popular manuscripts with the artists of the Pahari schools were the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, *Bhagavata Gita*, *Bhagavata Purana*. Among others that found favour with these painters were *Madhu Malti*, *Sundra Shingora* etc. *Madhu Malti* and *Sundra Shingora* manuscripts are from Kulu. With the exception of a few articles in *Lalit Kala* and *Roop Lekha*, no major work has appeared on this subject as yet.

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Themes of Paintings

Taking the themes as the basis of classification we can broadly put the paintings into two classes : religious and secular. The religious themes are derived from the Hindu scriptures like the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas* and also from the works of Keshavdasa (1581 A.D.), Bihari Lal (1662 A.D.), Jayadava (12th cent.), Mira Bai (1509 A.D.), Matiram Surdas (1483 A.D.) and others. These medieval poets popularised the worship of Vishnu as the supreme being and creator of all beings. The cult of Rama and Sita, Krishna, Krishna and Radha were the source of inspiration to many poets in Sanskrit and Hindi. As a result of this the most favourite subject of the Pahari paintings was the Rama and Krishna cult.

The epic poem of the *Ramayana* deals with the exploits of a hero and his followers against the forces of evil, usually in the form of demons. The siege of Lanka from the *Ramayana* is the most frequently represented. It tells the story of Rama who battles with a demon who had stolen Sita, his wife, and has taken her to his fortress in Lanka. With the help of the gods, his brother and many monkeys Rama regains Sita. The other popular scenes from the *Ramayana* are 'Rama's Coronation' and 'Hanuman washing the feet of Rama'. The adventures of Krishna from the time of his birth to his departure from this earth have supplied the artist with a vast wealth of appealing subject-matter. Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu is not merely an Avatar, an abstract power in anthropomorphic form, but appears to have a personality with decidedly human characteristics. He appears as a friend of the country folk, sharing in their work and their pleasure. He joins the herdmen and the milkmaids in a game of blindman's bluff. He sports with them in the Yamuna river. He also brings the cows back to the village at dusk. He is often shown stealing butter or milking a cow. As an adolescent he is depicted as removing the clothes of the bathing milkmaids or Gopis, and to tease them climbs a tree to get a better view of them. He has special passion for one of the Gopis, namely Radha. At the request of the cow-herds, he came to their rescue and struggled with Sheshnaga, the Serpent demon who had been fouling a pond and rendering its water unfit for drinking. As an adult, he turns into a charioteer of his friend Arjuna in the epic battle of the *Mahabharata* in which he preaches the divine sermon of the *Gita*.

Shiva and Durga are worshipped all over the Himalayas. Next to Krishna, it is the great Shiva, which has figured prominently in Pahari paintings. Faith in Shiva is older than that in Krishna. The cult of Shiva is deep rooted in the Himalayas, and it was but natural that the hill artists should successfully attempt to paint Shiva in his various forms and manifestations such as Shankar, Virupaksha, Natraj, Gangadhar and others. The painters have also illustrated the themes of Durga slaying

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Mahishasur, and other Durga legends. Saivite deity Ganesha and Vaishnavite form of Narsimha also figured in Pahari paintings.

The seasonal activities and festivitries have supplied rich themes to the Pahari artists for pictorial representation. Baramasa paintings show in pictorial form what the poets have done in verse to depict the march of the season and it effects on nature with corresponding changes in the life and mood of the people. Such visualisation is also achieved with respect to musical modes in the form of a set of paintings known as Ragamala.

Besides mythological themes and musical topics the Pahari paintings also give us the glimpses of the social life of the hill people. These paintings comprehend a variety of themes from the court like of the Rajput aristocracy of the hill states, such as royal expedition, portraits of the nobility, marriages and royal processions, court scenes, music and dance parties, toilets and bathing scenes and seasonal festivities. In such themes Kangra art is realistic in its treatment though lyrical and passionate in its approach. It is not a copy of nature as it is, but a poetical rendering of the life lived by certain sections of people in the hilly regions. In fact, Kangra art is the pictorial expression of the life and culture of the people of the western Himalaya in the 18th and 19th centuries and reflects the epoch as well as the region.

Chamba Rumal

During the 18th and 19th centuries, when the art of painting was flourishing in western Himalaya, the art of needle and thread was also gaining a new impetus. Owing to the fact that it originated at Chamba this art of embroidery came to be known as Chamba Rumal. While paintings on paper and walls were exclusively the work of the men artists, textile art was mainly the creation of women folk.

The art of embroidery of Rumal (handkerchief) with silk thread was practised probably from very early times. Karl Khandalavala has mentioned from the *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum* (Vol. 3, Plate 1) that a portrait of raja Raj Singh (1764-1794 A.D.) can also be recognised in a Chamba Rumal (embroidery) depicting probably the marriage of his son Jit Singh (1794-1808 A.D.). It is therefore quite likely that the art of the Rumals originated sometimes during the middle of the 18th century and continued well into the early years of the present century.

Considerable influence of the pictorial art of miniature, especially from Basohli and Kangra, is noticed in these embroideries done with silk threads providing a glossy effect. The influence from Kangra and Basohli in these Rumals can be traced

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back to the cultural contacts with these regions almost constantly from the middle of the 17th century A.D. This cultural flow was greatly helpful in the exchange of artists and artistic works. And while it is presumable that gifts of miniatures and possibly of other art objects including the typical embroideries found in the Rumals were offered as tokens of good gestures of marital or political alliance, artists from one region were also sent to the other in order to help and develop the arts. As a result of this communication of craftsmen, this embroidery work was done not only in Chamba, but also in Kangra, Kehlur (Bilaspur), Kulu and Mandi and other places.

An example of Chamba embroidery which is one of the finest specimens of this art, and which can also be accurately dated is a wall hanging depicting the battle of Kurukshetra. This was presented by raja Gopal Singh (1870-1873 A.D.) of Chamba to the British in the 19th century, and can now be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The example of another interesting Rumal which can be dated to the eighteenth century is Rukmini Haran, the elopment of Rukmini with Krishna (Collection of All India Handicrafts Board). This Rumal faithfully follows the tenets of Pahari miniature painting and is perhaps the highest achievement of painting on cloth with the silken thread. In the early days this style of embroidery flourished to such an extent that like Pahari paintings, it received the patronage of the ruling chiefs, especially of Chamba. In the early 20th century it was encouraged by raja Sham Singh of Chamba. A few local women were employed to train others in this ornamental needle work.

Chamba Rumal has rightly been called by some art critics as "painting done with a needle". Virtually in its effect, design, colour schemes and themes, it is nearest to the wall paintings and miniatures. These Rumals usually depict elaborate figure composition in wonderfully gay and harmonius colours.

The themes for this type of embroidery have been taken from the epics of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas* and the *Bhagavata*, *Rassamandala* being the most popular. We find many religious subjects illustrated on these Rumals. It is well known that on account of a general upheaval of Vaishnavism in northern India, after the 16th century, a number of popular lyrics were composed and sung among the masses. Love-sport of Krishna at Virindavana, described in the poem, was the inspiring force also for the most delicate paintings specially from the Punjab hill states. The embroidery of Chamba found in this continuous melody a convenient subject for the most lustrous and colourful composition. Of all the items in the love-sports, the *Rassamandala*, because of its circular symmetry and its scope for variegated colour in the dresses and poses of the figures of the Gopis and of the numerous figures of Krishna, has an appeal of its own in paintings as also in embroideries. In *Rassamandala*

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Krishna is shown not encircled by Gopis but he assumes multiple forms and holds the hands of each Gopi so as to form a circle. This peculiarity is apparently due to compositional difficulty in delineating profiles and shaded figures. In the centre Vishnu is generally depicted. Saivaite themes like Ganesha are also not lacking.

Secular subjects include marriage ceremonies of Kings, hunting scenes, elephant riders, Nayaka-Nayika Bhedas, floral and geometrical patterns. In Chamba dice play (Chaupar) was very popular. A.K. Bhattacharya in his book *Chamba Rumal* (1968) has reproduced two Chamba Rumals from the collection of Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba depicting dice play. On one Rumal there is a figure of a bearded prince which, according to Bhattachary, represents Charhat Singh who ruled from 1808 to 1844 A.D.

The embroidering of these Rumals was the art of women folk. The cloth used as a base was a kind of muslin, Mal Mal, a hand spun and woven thin fabric or khadar—a course cloth with a ground usually cream or white. Machine-made cloth, Khasa, has also been used for embroidery in the later period. The drawing was done in outline with fine charcoal or brush. Generally this work was assigned to an artist well versed in his craft. But sometimes the women would prefer to draw the patterns and figures themselves. This resulted in two standards. One elegant and fine and the other bold with folk characteristics. For making the figures more prominent in earlier works we find the outline embroidered with black, chocolate or dark grey silk thread. The untwisted silk thread, called Pat, from Kangra, Kashmir or Punjab was used for embroidery. It was dyed in a wide variety of colours—pink, lemon yellow, purple and light green were very favourite with folk artists who later added chrome yellow and a dark shades of other hues. The embroidery was done by a double satin stitch carried forward and backward alternatively. Both sides of the cloth are stitched simultaneously, so that the space on both sides is filled up making the design on both faces look equally effective and similar in content. That is why this technique is called Dorukha (two faced). There is no knot in the thread used. To decorate the Rumal further and to bring out yet another texture, Badla (silver wire) is used for decorating the border of the garments. Mica or mirror was also used in some embroideries especially in Cholis and Rumals.

The Rumals are generally square in shape ranging from 60 cms. square to 120 cms. square. The circular pieces were used only for covering the baskets and were known as Chhabu derived from the word 'Chhabri', meaning basket. For depicting the scenes from the epics of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* or *Bhagavata* a long rectangular piece of cloth was used. A floral border of about five to ten cms. runs around the shape adopted from Kangra painting which in its turn has borrowed

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it from Mughal paintings and Persian carpets. Thus they show a large variety of patterns and combinations. The figures are arranged in rows one above the other creating different planes in the space. In one Rumal sometimes as many as four or five scenes are depicted. In detail as well as in the border decorations other motifs i.e. birds, animals, trees, decorated pitchers and floral arrangements are to be found.

Hill embroidery is not only confined to these Rumals, but we find various other items also having the same character and spirit. They are : wall hangings, Cholis, Chopar (dice), Gomukhi (beads cover).

The Rumals were neither used for any domestic purpose nor as headgear, but were used only to cover the gifts or offerings to the gods. These were also used for decorating cult idols and sometimes used as a canopy on the altars. They were often used for keeping scroll of horoscopes, religious books or for mere decoration. Faithful devotees at temples, used to offer Rumals embroidered with religious themes. In the hills no marriage ceremony would be considered complete without the gift of one or more of these handkerchiefs by the relatives of the bride to the bridegroom.

Thus the Rumals of Chamba are more intimate to the life of the common people than the contemporary miniature paintings. A.K. Bhattacharya has stated that "as household products, the handiwork of the most graceful lady of the family, the wife, or the most devoted and venerated one, the mother, these Rumals have a rare touch of intimacy and grace not obtainable in any other form of art. As pieces of art, these have rare pictorial quality". Dr. Kramrich has described it as paintings translated into embroidery.

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Chapter Four

INDO-TIBETAN ART

Kinnaur, Lahaul and Spiti, the trans-Himalayan region of Himachal Pradesh is the meeting place of the Indo-Aryan and Mangolian races and the people exhibit the characteristics of both though the Indo-Aryan elements predominate. Who were the original inhabitants of these high altitude valleys is a moot point, but it is certain that the earliest emmigrants to these great Himalayan lands came in the early historic period from the adjoining low valleys lying between the Sutlej and the Chenab. When from the north-west the Indo-Aryan speaking people, Khashas, overran mid-Himalayan valleys from the Kashmir to Nepal, the aboriginals with their animal wealth fled to the north taking shelter in more inaccessible high mountain valleys. They carried with them their culture. There they lived a life of hunters and food-gatherers. It is difficult to say what the primitive religion of these people must have been, but easy to conjecture its general outlines. It was undoubtedly a form of nature worship, combined with magic (tantrik science) whose object was to attain power over the material universe—to get children, to ensure good harvests and to destroy enemies, or at least obtain immunity from their onslaughts. Thus it was a sort of an animism which is generally known under the name of "Lung-Pa chhi" which was the religion of the valley. In the later period this religion came to be called Shiva-Shakti and Naga cult. Dr. A.H. Francke thinks that the original worship of Trilokinath and Mirkula was an aboriginal form of Shiva and Kali worship.

After driving away the aboriginals, the Khashas became the master of the mid-Himalayan ranges from Kashmir to Nepal and had multiplied and divided into several clans like Kanets etc. Subsequently they penetrated into the higher reaches through the river valleys of the Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravi and the Chanab, and colonized them. Hence the Himalayan contour of Kinnaur, Lahaul & Spiti became more Indo-Aryanised than Mongoloid with an ever thickening varnish of Hinduism.

The northern most fringes of Kinnaur and Spiti were settled by the Mongloid race. The people of this race came in the early period from the north and east. The clan names of the Spitians show that the greater part of the population came from Zanskar, Ladakh and Gilgit. In later periods some people from the adjoining western

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Tibetan region migrated to these border fringes of Himachal Pradesh. Exactly when and under what circumstances these people migrated from the north and east to the Kinnaur and Spiti valleys is a matter of research. Probably the political conditions and economic forces compelled them to migrate to safer lands.

The aboriginal religion of the migrants, an animism intensified by the grandeur of the highest mountains in the world, the extremes of climate and the violence and suddenness of natural disasters, entailed the worship of thousands of gods and godlings. Spirits of rivers, mountains, springs, and winds required continual propitiation with prayers and sacrifices to ensure the safety and prosperity of the population. Until the introduction of Buddhism, devil-worship was predominant, but when people became Buddhist it gradually diminished in strength.

Available literary, palaeographic and numismatic evidences suggest that Spiti was ruled in very early times by a Hindu dynasty, whose kings bore the surname with the suffix 'Sena'. In the possession of the Parasuram temple at Nirmand in outer Saraj there is a copper-plate deed granted by the Raja Samudra Sena and assigned on palaeographic ground to the seventh century. This plate also gives the names of his father as Ravi Sena, grandfather as Sanjaya Sena and great-grandfather as Venna Sena. It also mentions a chief of the past, named Maharaja Serva Verman. This is just about the period when references to Spiti are found in the Kulu annals, and two rajas of Spiti are mentioned by names bearing the suffix 'Sena'. One of these named Rajendar Sena is said to have invaded Kulu and made it a tributary in the region of raja Rudar Pal c. 600 650 A.D. Kulu remained a tributary to Spiti for two generations, till Parsidh Pal gained a victory over Spiti in a battle fought near the Rohtang Pass, and thus secured the freedom for his country. The fortunes of Spiti declined during the reign of Chet Sena, and in the 10th century it was annexed by Ladakh. In the 17th century when the Tibetans defeated the Ladakh king, Delegs Namgyal, they seized Spiti, but soon returned it as part of the dowry when king Delegs married the Tibetan commander's daughter. From that time until its annexation to Kulu in 1846, Spiti continued to be part of Ladakh.

In about the 5th century B.C. Kinnaur-Bashahr region was ruled by a Hindu family. The dynasty was founded by one Parduman. If we tentatively fix 20 years reigning period for each raja, then the date of the founding of Kinnaur-Bashahr goes back to the fourth or fifth century B.C. Its capital originally was at Kamru (Mone in the Kinnauri dialect) in the Baspa valley. The Kulu chronicle mentions that when the Chamba army invaded Kulu in the 7th century, its raja was killed. His son Sital Pal fled to Bashahr. There the family seems to have remained at the Bashahr Court for five generations, i.e. up to the end of c. 800 A.D.

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In the first quarter of the 10th century a Persian scholar Alberuni visited India. In his work he has referred to a place called Bhoteshar in the high Himalaya and wrote that "Bhoteshar is the first frontier of Tibet. There the language changes as well as the costumes and the anthropological character of the people. Thence the distance to the top of the highest peak is 20 farasakh. From the height of this mountain, India appears as a black expanse below the mist, the mountain lying below the peak like small hills and Tibet and China is less than one farasakh. The distance from the peak of Bhoteshar to Kashmir through Tibet amounts to nearly 300 farasakh".

Alberuni describes that he gathered this information from a traveller who had been to that country. His informant reported that "from Nepal he came to Bhoteshar in thirty days, a distance of nearly 80 farasakh, in which there is an ascending than a descending country. And there is a water which is several times crossed on bridges consisting of planks tied with cords to two cans, stretching from rock to rock, and are fastened to milestones constructed on either side. People carry the burdens on their shoulders over such a bridge, whilst below, at a depth of 100 yards, the water foams as white as snow, threatening to shatter the rocks. On the other side of the bridges the burdens are transported on the back of goats." Alberuni's Bhoteshar could not be other than Bashahr of the later period in the upper Sutlej valley.

Ralpa-Chen (817-36 A.D.) of Tibet was a king with deep religious conviction. He organised and increased the existing priesthood, built temples, and zealously extended Buddhism throughout the country. During his reign many Indian Buddhist teachers visited Tibet. His great devotion to Buddhism led to his murder at the instigation of Lang Darma, his younger brother, who was at the head of anti-Buddhist party. After ascending his brother's throne, Lang Darma (836-42 A.D.) did everything in his power to destroy the Buddhist faith. Many Buddhists fled to western Tibet. Lang Darma however, did not long survive his success, for he was assassinated by Lama Palgyi Dorji in 842 A.D. Again things became unsettled. A war of succession followed. The fued smouldered for almost a century. Ultimately, in the beginning of the tenth century, Kyide Nyimagon, also known as Skyid Lde (930 A.D.), a great grandson of Lang Darma, fled to western Tibet with a few hundred followers. The Gyalpo of Purang, Tashi Tsen married his only daughter, Brobza Khork-youg to Kyide Nyimagon and also nominated him his successor. With Purang as his base Kyide Nyimagon gradually conquered Guge, Ladakh and the adjacent countries. Before his death the king divided his empire among his three sons, giving Ladakh to his eldest son, Purang-Guge to the second, and to the third Zanskar and Spiti.

Utpala (1090-1110 A.D.) subjugated Kulu, Purang, Guge and several localities of Baltistan in the eleventh century. It was probably during those times that, for the

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sake of safety from foreign invasion, the descendants of Parduman shifted their capital from Kamru to Sarahan, the ancient Shonitpur.

During the Mughal rule in India, Bashahr was ruled by Kehri Singh (16 9-1696). He was the most powerful amongst the hill chiefs. He was also a contemporary of the great Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682 A.D.), who was the spiritual and political head of Tibet. During this period the raja of Ladakh annexed a part of the Tibetan territory. The Tibetan commander Ga-den-tshe-wang-pal-sang-po started preparations to take back the territory. At that time there was an alliance and a brief general agreement about friendly relations and the exchange of envoys between raja Kehri Singh of Bashahr and the government of the Fifth Dalai Lama. According to the language of the treaty, mount Kailash would remain the boundary line of Bashahr with Tibet. Both would remain friends, and the traders from both sides would enjoy all facilities without any payment of any tax. In the battle the allied armies of Kinnaur and Tibet won the day. In 1685 A.D. he founded the town of Rampur on the bank of the Sutlej and transferred his capital from Sarahan to this place.

This evidence shows that from a very early period these high Himalayan valleys were ruled by Hindu dynasties, and the majority of the population was from Indian stock. The Mongoloid culture entered these valleys very late.

In the middle of the 6th century B.C. a great event took place in the foothills of the Himalaya which not only revolutionized India but Asia and the world also. It was the birth of Gautman Buddha at Lumbini, near Kapilvastu, the capital of the Sakaya republic. His teachings greatly influenced the civilized world, both in East and West. He preached in many places in India. Hiuen-Tsang, a Chinese Buddhist traveller who visited India from (630-43 A.D.) mentions in his work that "of old the Tathagata came to (Kuluta-Kulu) country with his followers to preach the law and to save men". But it was Asoka (273-32 B.C.) who was responsible for spreading Buddhism in India and abroad. He was an ardent Buddhist king whose empire in the west extended up to Kandaher and in the north beyond the Indus river. According to Chinese and Tibet sources, his empire extended up to Khotan.

According to *Mahavansa*, the third Buddhist Council was held in Asoka's time at his capital Patliputra and was presided by the monk Moggaliputta Tissa. The Council deputed missions to different countries. The mission to Nepal was led by Asoka. He visited Lumbini and erected an inscribed pillar to commemorate the sacred birthplace of the Buddha. It is said that his daughter Charumati married a Nepali prince, and built several stupas and monasteries, some of which have survived to the present day. Majjhantika was deputed to Kashmir and Gandhara. According

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to Chinese sources, Madhyentika, a disciple of Ananda was sent to Ladakh. Mejjhima mission was despatched to other Himalayan region. These missionaries were deputed by the emperor himself. The Buddhist mission to the Himalayan region was a large one and consisted of a team of four monks, Kassapagotta, Dhundibhissra, Sahadeva and Mulakadeva. Since separate missions were sent to Kashmir, Ladakh and Nepal, Mejjhima, the leader of the Himalayan mission, must have propagated Buddhism in the upper region of Kumaon, Garhwal and Himachal Pradesh all of which formed part of Asoka's vast empire.

In order to spread the teachings of the Buddha he built many stupas, erected rock-pillars and engraved rock-inscriptions on important trade routes and places, where people congregated. One of the most important rock inscriptions in the central Himalayan foothills was at Kalsi at the confluence of the Yamuna and the Tons. The settlement of Kalsi was at the crossroad, on the trade routes connecting eastern India with Gandhara and the Gangetic plain on the one hand and central India, Ladakh and central Asia on the other. The trade routes linking Kalsi with Ladakh and central Asia probably passed through the river valleys of the Yamuna, the Tons and its tributaries, Rupin and Shupin (eastern Simla hills) in the lower Himalaya; Baspa, the Sutlej in Kinnaur and Spiti river or Bhaba Pass in Spiti region and then crossing Baralacha and following Zanskar river to Leh, the capital of Ladakh. From Leh after crossing Indus the route passed through the Karakoram and thence to central Asia.

The other more frequented routes passed through the valley of the Beas to Lahaul, Spiti and to Ladakh. This route was in vogue up to the middle of the 19th century. In 1820 William Moorcraft and George Trebeck travelled through Kangra, Kulu, Lahaul & Spiti to Ladakh, and in 1839 a well-known archaeologist Sir Alexandar Cunningham also travelled through this route to Leh. There is every likelihood that some of the Buddhist missionaries might have adopted these routes.

Like Asoka, the Kushana king Kaniska (c. 78 A.D.-102 A.D.) who is known as the royal patron of Buddhism, was a great scholar and empire builder. He extended his empire from central Asia to Varanasi and in the south up to Sanchi. According to a Kharoshthi inscription, discovered by Dr. A. H. Francke in 1909 A.D. at Khalatse bridge in Ladakh in which the name of the king seems to be given as Maharajasa Uvima and Kavithisava, and the portrait of a Kushana king just as it is found on many Kushana inscriptions, appear in the middle of the text. The name has been taken to stand for Wemo Kadphises. It has been suggested on the basis of an inscription that western Ladakh was also subject to Wemo Kadphises. This shows that in the north-east his empire extended up to the Tibetan border.

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Kaniska convened the fourth Buddhist Council. There is some controversy regarding the place where the Council was held. Some authors say that the Council met in the Kundalavana Vihara in Kashmir, while others locate it in the Kuvana monastery at Jalandhara, the capital of Trigarta. Taranath observes that the balance of authority favours the later view. This Council under the Buddhist codified canonical works of the time in Sanskrit which now became the language of northern Buddhism. The most significant result of this Council was that the missionary activity was accelerated and Buddhist missions were sent to central Asia and China. In this Council Nagarjuna, who was a great Mahayanist, played an important part.

Mahayana Buddhism spread in northern India and beyond Himalaya to Khotan etc. Mahayana Buddhism found expression in art by fashioning of the images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, and sculptures depicting the important events in the life of the Buddha. Mahayana Buddhism therefore gave a new turn to Indian artistic evolution.

Indian art at this time came under foreign influence for which the way was opened by the Kushana empire, with its intimate intercourse with the west and north beyond Indian frontiers. At the same time the Indo-Greek kingdoms brought India in contact with the Hellenic art and culture. Greek techniques and craftsmanship were freely employed for purposes of Indian art in fashioning the Buddha and Bodhisattva images, portraying the events of his life and creating statues in stone. Thus arose a new school of art called Indo-Greek or Gandhara (c. 50 B.C.-500 A.D.) which considerably influenced the Mathura school of art (c. 50 A.D.-300 A.D.) in the south, and the Khotan region in central Asia under the Kushana emperors.

Although the power of the Gupta dynasty soon weakened again and new principalities formed in India, Gupta culture did not succumb to the deterioration of its political position. Buddhism and its art continued to develop. The development was particularly due to the important part played by the monastic universities in Magadha. The most important of these was the monastery of Nalanda, which attracted Buddhists from all over the Asiatic East. Buddhist monks and scholars from the western Himalayan region used to come to Nalanda for higher learning.

From these universities new views spread. Thus the Mahayana sect came to attach more importance to the method of worship than did the followers of the Hinayana sect. Subsequently a new sect, Tantrayana or Vajrayana arose which attached exclusive importance to the method, and Vajra—the sceptre shaped thunderbolt became the symbol of this new school. This system attributes the unfolding of definite supernatural powers to the acquisition of higher mystical knowledge and insight.

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Thus the monks who came to Nalanda from the Western Himalayan region adopted this new form of Buddhist doctrine and spread it in the regions they came from. Vajrayan was introduced by the great magician Padamasambhava into the Western Himalaya and Tibet, where it struck root.

At this time, too, the religion with its art travelled from northern India to the Western Himalayas, to Ladakh, Lahaul and Spiti and Kinnaur and from there to central Asia, China and Tibet. There it achieved new splendour in a form called the tantric Vajrayana, until 1189, when it was obliterated by the iconoclastic Muslim armies. Vajrayana was characterised by its inspired use of elaborate sets of symbols, many of them in the shapes of gods and goddesses, who were invoked during rituals for public functions, to help spiritual advancement, and to perform magic. Different arrangements of painted figures on walls or hangings of large sculpture in architectural setting or small sculptures on altars were made according to different patterns worked out by the great saints. Thus Buddhism with its art survived in Tibet and still exists in Ladakh, Lahaul and Spiti, Kinnaur, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. With the close of Harsha's empire the medieval period sets in. This period of Indian history witnessed three great changes, viz. the disintegration of north India into small states, the revival of Hinduism by the three great philosophers—Shankaracharya, Ramanuja and Madhava, and of Vaishnavism, resulting in the disappearance of Buddhism, and finally the iconoclastic Muslim invasions. As a result the cultural contact between the people of India and Trans-Himalayan region was lost. The latter looked towards Kashmir to quench their religious, cultural and artistic thirst.

The Trans-Himalayan plateau of Tibet, which up to the early 7th century was divided into small tribal feuds, saw a new era. Tribal king Srong-brtsan-sgam-po (Song-tsen-gam-po) (627-640 A.D.) founded his kingdom in the middle of the 7th century, and came to feel himself so powerful that he asked for the hands, in marriage, of both a Chinese and a Nepalese princess and actually married them. As the princesses were zealous followers of Buddhism, Tibet came for the first time into direct contact with that religion. This king sent about the year 632 A.D. one of his ministers, Sambhota of Thon along with 16 other students to Kashmir, in order to study, so that a Tibetan script might be finally agreed upon. This event in itself suggests previous acquaintence with Kashmir or at least knowledge of its prestige as a centre of learning. Although no itinerary of Sambhota's journey is preserved, these routes became so well trodden in the subsequent centuries that it is worthwhile to try to identify them.

Guge is in the Upper Sutlej valley. From here one important trade route follows the Sutlej westwards through Himalaya to what was then the important Buddhist

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country of Jalandhara. From Guge another route leads up the Spiti river through the country of the same name. From the head waters of the Spiti, one pass, the Kunzang, leads westwards over to the wild Chandra valley, thence north-westward down the Chenab and eventually to Kashmir. By climbing southwards out of the Chandra gorge (with a choice of two passes, the Hamta or the Rohtang) one reaches the upper Beas river and the land of Kulu which in the time of Hiuen-Tsang was still a Buddhist country. Another pass was the Baralacha, of over 4,880 mts. from the head of the Spiti river, that lead to upper Lahaul or northwards of Ladakh. The routes favoured by Buddhist pilgrims were those that lay in the south, leading to Jalandhara, Kulu and Kashmir. From Kashmir one might journey still further west to Udhiyana (Swat valley) which was another famous Buddhist land. Ascending the Indus valley one would reach Gilgit and Baltistan. Thence across the formidable passes, which seemed not to have daunted the travellers of those days, one could reach the Tarim basin and go eastwards to Khotan.

A great supporter of Buddhism in Tibet was king Kri-Srong-Ide-btsan, who sent envoys to India to persuade the learned monks of the famous monastic university of Nalanda and Vikramasila to visit Tibet and spread Buddhist doctorine. This was during the 2nd half of the 8th century, that is, at a time when Buddhism in its tantric form had already taken root in the important Indian centres.

The king's envoys were successful in inducing the famous scholars Santarakshita to leave India for Tibet, where he advised the prince to summon Padmasambhava, also known to the Tibetans as Rimpoche, from Udhiyana to give further encouragement to the spread of Buddhism. Padamasambhava, an enthusiastic supporter of the tantra school, laid the real foundation for the development of Buddhism in what was for Tibet its typical form. According to tradition, it was at Riwalsar in Mandi that the teacher from Udhiyana gave a popular basis to the mystical elements of tantric philosophy and iconography. He thus became a symbol of the spirit of the time, in an age when Buddhist and Hindu practices and art forms practically lost their separate identity. His name is mentioned not only in creation with the monasteries of Lahaul, but even in regard to Hindu places of worships in the adjoining country. It is of some interest that in the ancient book called *Padma-bka-btang* the country Zohar (Tibetan word for Mandi) and Gayha (Garzha, the local name for Lahaul) are mentioned along with Padmasambhava and the name Gondhla (Gurughantal) occurs among those of the monasteries founded by the same Lama. He was also the founder of the first great monastery which was established about 779 A.D. in Sam-yas (Samye) in Tibet.

Although Padmasambhava's specific routes of travel are not known, the tracks through the Himalaya had been well-recognised since the time of Thonmi Sambhota,

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when he journeyed to Kashmir to learn the Sanskrit alphabet. The holy mountain Kailash by the sacred lake Mansarover could be approached from the important Buddhist centre, Jalandhara by following river Sutlej up stream. This river rises from beyond the Indian frontier in Tibet and after flowing 270 kms. through the Tibetan plateau enters India at Shipki Pass and from there to Ropar, it travels 320 kms. One legendary traces of Padmasambhava exists along the route listed above at Nako in the Kinnaur. It is a small enclosure built over his supposed foot-print on the rock.

Kri-Srong-Ide-btsan's grandson Ral-Pa-Chen (817-36 A.D.) is revered as the third great protector of the doctrine. He was murdered by his rebel brother Lang-Darma (836-41 A.D.) in 836 A.D. He prosecuted the Buddhists. Indian Pandits were also driven out and native scholars had to take refuge in the remote parts. In 842 A.D. he was killed by Pal-gyi Dorgi. This resulted in a period of anarchy and internal strife. At the beginning of the 10th century Kyide-Nyimagon (930 A.D.) the great grandson of Lang-Darma established himself by seeking marriage, as a chieftain of Purang. From there he conquered the whole western Tibet from mountain Kailash to Ladakh. In any case by the end of the 10th century the son of one of the three brothers had become prominent as the king of Guge, holding sway throughout the whole Sutlej valley at least from the Shipki Pass eastward and also possibly over lower Spiti. There followed then throughout the 11th century a succession of kings who were devoted to the Buddhist doctrine and were determined to establish its true tradition.

The first king with whom we are concerned renounced the throne and took the religious name of Ye-She-O (Light of Wisdom), being succeeded by his brother, who seemed to have ruled for a very short time. He was followed by his son Lha-de who was again rapidly followed by his son O-de and so on. Of this period the most renowned were Tibetan scholar Rin-Chen Sang-Po (Good Gem) who lived from 958-1055 A.D. and an Indian master Atisa who lived from 982-1054 A.D. These two so typify the activities of this period, that a brief study of their lives will provide the clearest possible account of this cultural transfer from Indian plain to Tibet and Tibetan cultural contact with the western Himalayan valleys of Lahaul & Spiti, Kinnaur and Kashmir.

Rin-Chen-Sang-po was one of the twenty-one youths chosen by Ye-She-O to visit India. He visited it three times and in all he stayed for 17 years in India. All but two, Rin-Chen-Sang-po and Lek-pai-She-rap died without completing their studies. Rin-chen-Sang-po studied in Kashmir for many years and also visited other parts or India. The route followed by him on his travels would have taken him either down the Sutlej valley to India, thence across difficult foot-hills to the Beas valley and so north-westward to Kashmir, or he may have followed the northern route through Spiti

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and the Chandra valley. In any case like many Tibetans he was a great traveller, for even if he only founded a few of the one hundred and eight temples that are ascribed to him, he must have journeyed far and wide. Locally his name is still remembered as a founder of temples and the Sutlej valley seems to boast the greater share. The first of these on the way into Tibet by this route is that of Kanam in Kinnaur, where the devoted Hungarian scholar, Casma de Koros lived from 1827-30, working on his summary of the contents of the Tibetan Canon. The monastery of Kanam is said to go back to the days of Lotsava (Translator) Rin-Chen-Sang-po (Ratna-bhadra) 958-1055 A.D.

This famous Tibetan scholar, Lotsava Rin-Chen-Sang-po, who was sent to Kashmir and India from Tibet to study in the late tenth century A. D., is credited with the creation of a series of temples. He is believed to have constructed 108 Viharas in his life time in the western Himalayas. His work was financed by the saint king Ye-She-O of Guge and Lhayibu-Byang-Chub-Sanas-dpa of Ladakh. Rin-Chen-Sang-po obtained for Tibet the services of 32 Kashmiri Buddhist-artists who were dexterous sculptors, the best of them being called Bidhaka. They also built many monasteries. The monasteries of Lahaul & Spiti and Kinnaur connected with Rin-Chen-Sang-po and his time are Tabo, Lha-lun, Na-than, Lha-bran of Dmar-kha, Bdor-Lha of Kyi-khyim of Spiti and Ro-pag of Kanam, Hu-bu-lang-kar, near Chini, Lotse-babi-Lha-Khan of Nako, Lha-bran of Kyahar in Kinnaur and Gamur in Lahaul. As, however, Rin-Chen-Sang-po was not the only priest who erected temples and monasteries in the 11th century, but as the fathers of the Bkah-rgyud-pa sect did the same. It is not clear in several cases to which of the two sources a certain temple owes its origin. It is also emphasised that the 11th century is by no means the earliest era of Buddhist temples in the ancient Lahaul & Spiti and Kinnaur. A good number of temples are asserted to have been erected by Padmasambhava in the 8th century, and the temples of Trilokinath in Chamba-Lahaul and Gandhola in Lahaul claim to go back to the times of Nagarjuna. As Dr. J. Ph. Vogel points out, Trilokinath is a place, where the ancient Indian Buddhism was moulded into Lamaism.

TEMPLES AND MONASTERIES

A comparative study of all the 11th century temples of this region will in course of time enable us to distinguish them from temples of other times. Only a few characteristics may be pointed out.

They may consist of a single hall or of a collection of halls surrounded by a wall. The door in many cases opens towards the east. Of the temples attributed to

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Rin-Chen-Sang-po one very important one is Tabo in lower Spiti on the left bank of the Spiti river. In the temple there are inscriptions of varied character. One of them is historical, and speaks of the foundation of the Tabo monastery about nine hundred years ago, and of the people who were connected with that event. It also tells of a renovation of the Tabo monastery by Byang-Chub-Od, the priest-king of Guge, forty-six years after the monastery had been founded by Lhayi-bu-Byang-Chub-Sems-dpa (Byang-Chub-Sems-dpa-the son of the God). The latter name is evidently that of the king of Ladakh, who is mentioned in the Ladakh chronicles as one of the early rulers of that country. He is spoken of with much respect in the inscription. His advice was repeatedly asked by the king of Guge, and thus the inscription confirms the statement of history that the kings of Ladakh were the recognised suzerains of the Guge princes. Besides these two royal names, the inscription contains also those of the two most important Lamas of the period, viz., Rin-Chen-Sang-po, and Atisa. The inscription says that Rin-Chen-Sang-po, was made a 'Light of Wisdom' by the agency of Atisa. As this inscription was evidently written in the time of king Byang-Chub-Od (c. 1350, A.D.) it is of the utmost importance for Tibetan palaeography. Ye-She-O must have died about 1040 A.D. shortly before the arrival of Atisa in Tibet. Assuming he was dead, when Chang-Chup-O carried out the rapairs, this would make the earliest date for the founding of Tabo A.D. 996. As a leap year, as mentioned in the inscription, occurs every twelfth year, one may calculate the next possibility as 1008.

The temple buildings are built on the plain above the river. They are surrounded by a high mud wall. The compound is 95.5 mts. long and 78.50 mts. wide. Within this enclosure stand seven temple-halls and a great number of chortens. All the buildings are constructed of large sundried clay bricks. The roofs are flat, braced with wooden struts, and supported by wooden pillars.

The centre of interest is the main temple. It is called Nam-par-snang-mdzad. It is oblong in shape and measures 19.55 mts. by 10.65 mts. It is entered through an ante-chamber. The central divinity, a four-fold white stucco image of Vairochana (Nam-par-snang-mizad) is set above the altar at the far end of the hall, and is seen in the normal cross-legged posture and with two images of Rin-Chen-Sang-po placed just below him. The other four Buddhas of the directions, each of them flanked by four Bodhisattvas, two to the left and two to the right, are set against the side walls. The four Buddhas are distinguished from the other images by their generally larger proportions and they are of the appropriate colours and with the proper hand gestures. Against the wall of entry are set four feminine divinities and just inside the doorway two fierce male ones. Likewise against the far wall are four more feminine divinities with two fierce male ones at the entrance to the passages that lead beyond into the apse. The eight feminine divinities are the goddesses of personified worship : Vajra-

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gaity, Vajra-garland, Vajra-song, Vajra-dance, Vajra-perfume, Vajra-flower, Vajra-lamp and Vajra-incense. The four fierce male ones are the guardians of the four quarters. They are Vajra-look, Vajra-noose, Vajra-burst and Vajra-fury.

At the far end, beyond the fourfold image of Vairochana and past the two fierce guardians, one sees a kind of apse. Here upon a low platform one comes first upon two standing stucco-images of Bodhisattvas. Three steps higher up there is a large three-sided shrine, wherein is seated a Buddha-images in the meditation posture upon an elevated throne formed with two lions standing back to back. Two more Bodhisattvas stand one on either side of the shrine. This can be circumambulated for a small passage runs round behind it, the back-wall being painted with innumerable little Buddha images. The main Buddha image is shown with the hand-posture of Amitabha, and it is indeed as such that the head monk identified him, naming the attendant Bodhisattvas as Khasarpana (a form of Avalokiteshvara), and Mahasthana-prapta, who stands nearest to the throne, and those on the lower platform as Kshitigarbha and Akasagarbha. But if it were a normal Amitabha image, the animal beneath the throne should be peacocks and not lions, for just as the five Buddhas have their different colours, gestures and symbols, so they have different vehicles.

Below the image of Vairochana, there is a stone sculpture of Manju-ghosha. There are also two very beautiful ancient wood carvings of standing Buddhas with attendants.

Around the walls, beneath the images of the Vairochana's circle of divinities, there runs a series of frescos. Those along the left wall tell in successive scenes the story of the Bodhisattva-prince Nor-s'ang and those to the right tell the story of the Sakya-Sage. Once again these have not been painted here for the sake of mere decoration, but for representing the advance of the Bodhisattva to Buddhahood. It is an expression through the time process (in this case two human lives) of the transmutation of the phenomenal existence into the perfection of Buddhahood. According to the mystical philosophy which is the essential basis of all the tantras, the process of time is only a conventional reality. It has an apparent existence only so long as one remains immersed in false associations of phenomenal things. Thus for the followers of the tantras, who sought to realize absolute truth here and now, the stories of the gradual advance towards Buddhahood through a time-process take on a purely symbolic significance. However, this may be, the chief interest of those frescos for us is their style, for they clearly reveal their Indian inspiration. The Tibetans invited not only religious teachers, but craftsmen also who handed down their own style of paintings and carving to their Tibetan pupils. This had considerable effect upon the whole later development of Tibetan art-forms. Sections of the ceiling at Tabo are

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decorated with motifs which recall at once graceful human forms, flowers and birds and twisting garlands in the caves of Ajanta.

The subsidiary temples at Tabo are well worthy of mention for their frescos date from the last period of Guge's greatness. The gTsug-lag-khang is a smaller hall with frescos, to the left of the principal hall. Most of the pictures refer to the story of Buddha's life, beginning with the descent of the white elephant from heaven. On both sides of the door were painted the four *Lakapalas*. On the right and left walls there was Sangsrgyas-sman-gyi-bla the Medicine Buddha with his followers : Sakya thub-pa, Rin-chen-zla-ba, Myang-ngan-med-mchog-dpal, Chos-grags-rgya-mthsoi-dpal, gser-bzang-dri-med ; mNgon-mkhyen-rgyalpo and mthsan-legs. Only the Buddha, Master of Medicine is clearly distinguished iconographically, for he is shown in blue colour with a begging bowl in the left hand, the downward right hand grasping a myrobalan fruit.

The entrance hall to the principal temple is called Lha-Khang-Chen-moi-sgo-khang. It is furnished with paintings, for instance, Tsong-kha-pa with two disciples, one of whom was called mKhas-grub.

The gSer-gyi-tha-Khang hall is to the left of the main temple. The dKyil-khang hall is behind the preceding hall. The principal picture shows Vairochana.

The Lha-khang-dkar-byung picture hall is again behind the preceding hall. The central picture shows the Buddha with two disciples; to the left of the group is Tsong-kha-pa. There are other pictures too.

To the right side of the principal temple there are two more picture halls. One is Brom-ston and the other Byams-pa-chen-moi-Lha-khang. Brom-ston was evidently named after the famous pupil of Atisa, called by that name, the founder of the bKa-gdams-pa sect. It was probably erected in Brom-ston's time, but nothing remains of ancient relics, besides the interesting door of the deodar wood which is decorated with well-executed carvings of Buddhist saints. The style of carving is very different from the present Tibetan style, and is a distinguishing characteristic of Indian Buddhism of the 11th century. The main picture in it represents the Buddha with his two disciples.

The hall called Byam-pa-chen-moi-Lha-khang contains a large stucco statue of Maitreya seated in a chair. The top of his head may be 5.5 to 6 mts. above the ground. The hall has also a door carved with Buddhist figures in Indian, not Tibetan style. The central figure on the lintel, however, is Ganesha.

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Within the walled enclosure about the temple, there are many chortens and several of them have frescos inside.

All the divinities represented at Tabo were part of the Buddhism of Kashmir. During this period a large number of Indian pundits were invited. A certain Jnanassi of Kashmir is reported as having come without being invited, and he is of interest to us in that he stayed at Tabo and learned Tibetan which seems to have been a rare feat.

The temples founded during the times of the great religious kings of Guge seem to have been built generally in the plain, which may well be indicative of prosperity that their rule ushered in. Other monasteries in Spiti are built like fortresses on mountain tops, and as fortresses they have suffered the ravages of war, of which the most disastrous must have been the Dogra invasion of 1834. Dhanker, the former capital of Spiti, is built upon a crest of crags at 3,890 mts. Towards the river the ridge juts out over a precipice, and it is here that the monastery has been built. The monastery is called Lha-'od-pai-dgon-pa. Lha-'od seems to be the local pronunciation of Zla-'od, the name of a famous Lama who was born in 1121 A.D., according to the Reumig. Zla-'od-pa would then mean "a follower of Zla-'od". He is apparently the founder or renovater of the monastery which now belongs to the Gelugpa order. The monks assert that it was not only of earlier origin than the Tabo monastery, but also earlier than the times of Srong-brtsan-sgam-po. They explain that the monastery was plundered many times, the last during the Dogra invasion. Traces of the ravages of the invasion may be plainly seen in all the monasteries of Spiti, with the exception of Tabo. It appears that Tabo was under Bashahr in those times, and that the Dogras did not wish to interfere with the government of that state.

There are two temples, both very small, connected by rough stone steps and a ladder made from a notched tree trunk. The frescos are good, although not important enough to bear a comparison with the early ones at Tabo. They are in a very bad condition. in the lower temple they have almost disappeared from one wall. On the right wall one can make out Padmasambhava, Vajradhars, Green Tara and Amitabha. The images on the altar are Sakyamuni flanked by Maitreya and Tsong-kha-pa. In the upper temple are paintings of Sakyamuni, Tsong-kha-pa and the eight Buddhas of Medicine. The Geluk-pa began to gain influence in western Tibet in the sixteenth century, and it is to this period that all these paintings may be ascribed. They belong to the very last period, in which anything of value was produced in western Tibet.

The other less known but very important monastery is Lha-lun which is ten kms from Dhanker in the Lin-ti valley of Spiti. It was visited by H. Lee Shuttlewoth

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in 1924 who was at that time Assistant Commissioner of the Kulu division. His work on this monastery was published by the Archaeological Survey of India under title *Lha-lun temple, Spiti* in 1929. Describing this temple he writes that he was delighted to find an almost perfectly preserved eleventh century temple, smaller than the famous main hall at Tabo, but in nowise inferior to it in artistic merit. He adds that there were originally nine temples of Lo-tsa-va Rin-Chen-Sang-po's time, of which eight were destroyed by the Sog-po's i.e. Mongols in the seventeenth century. Now there is but one temple known as Gser-khan and a group of Lama's houses and an externally inconspicuous chorten, or rather room, containing a four headed figure, resembling the Rnam-parman-mdzad in the large temple at Tabo. All the above buildings occupy a small plateau immediately over and to the east of the Lha-lun village that joins the Lin-ti river about four miles from the junction of the Lin-ti with the Spiti.

The exterior of Gser-khan temple faces west, and is flat roofed. Its exterior dimensions are about 10.67 mts. north to south and 8.54 mts. east to west. The roof is about 4.57 mts. high. A small temple room, 3.35 mts. square inside, is built on to the north-west front immediately to the north of the main temple entrance.

The upper part of the outside walls is painted in alternate horizontal layers of yellow, brown and red lime wash. There is an interior circumambulatory passage, about 90 cms. wide, within the north, east and south walls and so passing behind the small temple, the main Gser-Khan hall and the small store-room adjacent to the Gser-khan on the south and under the same roof. The entrance to this passage is by the small temple, and it leads out into the veranda in front of the store-room, as seen in the plan. The north part of the passage contains old frescos, all very much worn.

The small temple to the north of the entrance door of the Gser-Khan contains modern images of the three "Protectors of Tibet", i.e. (1) A red Hjam-dbyans, (2) a white elevenheaded, eight-armed Spyan-ras-gzigs, and (3) a blue Phyagna-rdo-rje, also a wall inscription of the time of king Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal (c. 1590-1635 A.D.).

The interior of the Gser-Khan temple is a square room, measuring 5.50 mts. by 5.50 mts., and 4.30 mts. high. The ceiling is composed of planks resting on cross-beams which run both ways. The intersection of these cross-beams divides the wood ceiling into 36 square panels on which are painted circular and rectangular geometrical designs. All the woodwork is of blue pine, which is not indigenous to Spiti, but imported, probably from Kinnaur. It is carefully smoothed and finished, altogether unlike the rough hewn planks and beams found elsewhere in temples and private houses in Spiti nowadays. Circular metal bosses ornamented with floral designs are attached to the beams

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at regular intervals. There are no pillars.

In the middle of the room is an ordinary small wooden altar. On it is a wooden Buddha. A copper and silver butter-lamp, 55 cms. high, and two white chortens, one metre and 90 cms. high, the last an old wooden one, stand near the altar.

At the time of the visit of Shuttleworth there was a beautifully carved linted beam, 1.70 mts. long, laid on the floor by the altar. It was said to have been originally over the entrance door.

It contains five panels placed horizontally. The subjects of the panels beginning from the proper right are as follows :

(1) The fasting Buddha is sitting, perhaps under the Bodhi tree. To his left stands a female figure.

(2) Two large robed figures with haloes sit on thrones and hold long pieces of cloth (?). There is a kneeling figure and two others to their right, a similar kneeling figure and three others to the left in attitudes of prayer or adoration. Two small dwarfs crouch one under each throne. This panel apparently depicts two phases of one scene, the subject of which is uncertain.

(3) The Buddha sits with upraised right hand holding a sword, with which he is cutting off his hair which he grasps in his left hand. On his right is "The Stupa of the Hair of the Buddha", and on his left the Bodhi tree.

(4) A house with pillars and caves is depicted. Over the front door is seen two seated figures : a man and a woman. In the right and left upper corners stand two trumpeters. In the right and left lower corners stand two men with clubs. There are lions at either side of the door.

(5) This panel, which is very much broken, represents a horse, perhaps Kanthaka.

The divisions between these panels are carved with round and square floral design. The style of the carving and the treatment are distinctly Indian.

The west wall, in the centre of which is the entrance door, contains no figures in relief like the other three, but only frescos and an inscription in the old orthography of the eleventh century.

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The principal wall paintings include three old well-executed magic circles or *Mandalas* above the door. From right to left are the circles of Bde-mchog, Mi-bskyod-pa, and Hjigs-byed. To the right and left of the door are representations, 1.30 mts. high, of a blue Phyag-na-rdo-rje and of a red Rta-mgrin painted in Indian style. Other paintings are of horses and a man in a round hat wearing Indian attire.

The north, east, and south walls contain elaborate groups of painted clay mouldings, in full relief, of Buddhas, Taras, Devas, animals, real and legendary, flowers, leaves, stupas, palaces, arches and other ornamental details. Each of these three walls now may be described in turn.

In the centre of the north wall three headed crowned figure sits on a lotus throne, supported on a standing dwarf.

To either side of the dwarf stands an open-mouthed lion, apparently to mark the throne as a *Simhasans.* The image was said to be Rnam-rgyal-ma female Yid-dam or tutelary. It is 90 cms. high and has eight hands. The uppermost left hand holds a wheel.

On either side of the throne is a small bird with a human face of blue colour.

Immediately above the Rnam-rgyal-ma image is a floral scroll design. At the centre of the design there is a *khyung* (Garuda) and on either side are two Chu-srin (Makara). The scroll design ends with the representation of two peacocks facing inwards.

A little way above the Rnam-rgyal-ma but in the floral design can be seen a small three-headed figure said to be Kun-hgrig (?). The name given to this deity may possibly be Kun-rigs which means omniscient, and which is an epithet of Vairochana. In this connection Dr. A.H. Francke observes that the 32 stucco wall figures in the main Rnam-par-snan-mdzad hall at Tabo are called Kun-hgrig-lha-tshogs, "the all suited company of gods", and that they represent deities of the Hindu pantheon, modified by Bon-po ideas. He suggests that other hitherto unexplained images at Lha-lun and similar eleventh-century temples, e.g. Basgo, now in ruins, may have to be classed under the Kun-hgrig heading.

The remaining wall space on either side of the above central group is filled up with 16 sitting Sgrol-mas, each 60 cms. high.

There are eight on each side in groups of two. Each image has its hands in a different posture. Below the images is a 90 cms. high painted dado. In its centre is

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a five-headed figure, with small Buddhas within circles on either side. There are 72 of these small round medallion paintings on this wall.

The east wall is the most important, and contains three main groups of images, artistically arranged within a general flowing lotus plant design that spreads over the entire wall. Lotus buds, leaves, and the lotus thrones, on which the gods sit, are all integral parts of the design. This wall, like the others, is 3 mts. long by 4.30 mts. high. In the centre sits the Buddha, Sa-Kya-thub-pa, on a lotus throne. On either side of the lotus, beneath the figure, two crouching lions face each other, ensconced in small lotus thrones.

On either side of the throne and the lotus sit small gods, encircled by floral ornaments. The god on the proper right (north) is a three-headed Indian deva, his heads are bare and he wears only a body cloth, his left knee and forearms are raised, the right leg resting on the throne with the sole of the foot raised upwards. His right hand is extended downwards. This figure is said to be Lha-gtsan-pa (Brahma).

On the left (south) there is a crowned deva sitting with his palms folded together, his left knee is raised to support the left elbow, while the right leg is stretched out on the throne behind his left foot. This god is said to be Brgya-sbyin (Indra).

Under the double-lion throne are two birds (parrots), from whose heads starts the floral decoration. On either side of the pair of birds is a line of small seated Buddhalike figures, five on each side.

Outside each of the two pillars, and on the same level, stand two elaborate cruciform based stupas or *chorten*. Both the spires are surmounted by umbrellas and the *kalasa* as found on Hindu spires. The stupa on the left has doors or windows, that on the right a triple flight of steps. A guardian tiger rampart stands against the dome and a hind paw against the base. Each tiger on its upraised fore-paw supports an acrobat with a Buddha's chignon. The figure to the right holds his chin in his hands. Their feet are above their heads and hold up pedestals for a pair of elephant-trunked Chu-arin (*Makara*), whose tails run up into a scroll design terminating in the mouth of a grotesque gargoyle face of a *Khyung* (Garuda) high up near the roof and immediately over the Thub-pa. Above the gargoyle is an umbrella.

The composition of the general scheme is remarkably good and well-balanced every detail is an integral part of the whole.

To the right and left of the central group are two minor, but also elaborate

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groups, which consist each of a main crowned and jewelled sitting Bodhisattva figure under arches or palaces, each bearing five Stupas. The image on the right is silver in colour. The palace or arch containing this figure is supported by dwarfs standing between pairs of pillars, that on the left is supported by a dwarf facing outwards.

Under each of the large figures are two pairs of seated crowned figures: Taras or other such deities. The one to the Brahma's right is apparently a male deity.

The only frescoes still visible on this wall are two small medallions containing Buddhas in the two upper corners above the outer Stupas of the two flanking palace arches.

In the centre of the south wall sits a four-armed crowned figure in adamantine pose. It was considered to be Spyan-ras-gzigs. His lotus throne is supported by a lotus flower, and two well-executed elephants. Above him sits Amitabha Buddha (Hod-dpag-med, Sans-ba-mthah-yas) in a niche under a tall Stupa surmounted by a ball and a sharp point. On either side are two smaller circular Stupas.

To the right and left of the central stupa are two flying figures (*Apasaras*) in attitudes of prayer or adoration.

The whole of the above group is flanked by two vertical lines, each of four seated figures, four crowned and four in a Buddha's mendicant guise.

Names were assigned to all of the Buddhas, but the indentification of these eight figures is uncertain. They may be the Medicine Buddhas. Dr. A.H. Francke mentions in his work that Lha-lun was a famous seat of the Medicine Buddhas two centuries before Rin-Chen-Sang-po.

There are many faint paintings in medallions on this wall to either side of, and below, the figures. Two large Buddhas within a circle are visible, as also various scenes of Indian palaces. In the lower right hand corner is an inscription of 27 lines.

There is a separate small room among the Lamas' houses which measures only 3.70 mts. by 2.75 mts. inside. It is called Lha-khan-dkar-po, "white gods' houses". The quadruple image was said to be Lha-dhan-brgya-sbyin, i.e., Indra. But it is, Vairochana, as at Tabo, and is the sole remains of a large temple-hall. The entrance door is to the east.

The total height of this quadruple image is 3.15 mts. The pedestal alone is

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1.75 mts. high, and each image is 1.45 mts. high. The base is square in section and measures 2 mts. Above this it becomes a cup-shaped round pedestal, 90 cms. in diameter, swelling out to one metre in diameter above.

Above this round pedestal, four pairs of grotesque lions and four pillars with Nor-bu signs in the centre support a round slab, which bears the four lotus thrones, and on which the four crowned clay images sit. They face east, north, west, and south with their backs against a central wooden pillar which runs through the pedestal. Each has its hands shown in a different posture. The images are crowned, jewelled and have elongated ears. There are traces of blue and yellow paints on them, but their colour is mainly greyish-white.

The Kee monastery is the largest in Spiti, and is situated between Khiebar and Kaza, just over the small village of Kee, on the left bank of the Spiti river. As seen from the Khiebar side, it presents the appearance of a hill fort crowning an eminence, a vast wall of rock rising over it to the east, and thus affording some shelter from the prevailing winds.

Kee monastery was probably built in the early eighteenth century to replace a monastery at Rangrik which had been founded in the eleventh century and then destroyed six hundred years later by the invaders from Ladakh. Most nineteenth century writers assume that they are one and the same, but a few broken walls and relics on the hill above Rangrik testify to the existence of an older monastery. The first great Tibetan scholar, the Hungarian Cosma de Koros, also quotes a sixteenth century passage which speaks of a monastery already existing near Rangrik in the mid-eleventh century.

Spiti has always been a weak buffer state between powerful and ambitious neighbours, the rulers of Ladakh, or western Tibet and of the Punjab, all of whom invaded Spiti at one time or another. Kee monastery withstood these invasions in the eighteenth century fairly well, for the monks took the most precious hangings and ornaments and fled to the hills. But during the Dogra invasion of 1834, when Mohammedan iconoclasts devastated much of the valley, Kee suffered grievously from fire, though once again the icons were saved by the timely flight of the monks.

It is easy to see why one invader after another has deemed it necessary to destroy or at least to neutralise Kee. For the monastery perched atop a rocky spire, presents the formidable front of a castle standing guard. Moreover it offers a wonderful view of the valley both up and down which would give the soldier ample warning of an intended surprise attack.

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There is no uniformity or order in the layout of Kee *gompa.* The upper buildings house the five *gompas* of the monastery, a large kitchen, a special cell for the abbot and a number of store rooms. There *gompas* are the focal points of the monastery, for in them one looks for the treasures and symbols of the Buddhist faith. Each *gompa* is dominated by a statue of Lord Buddha, looking down on his prostrate followers.

On either side of the statue there are rows of wooden pigeon holes, where the 108 volumes of the *Kan-gyur*, the Tibetan scriptures, and the 224 volumes of the canonical commentaries are housed. Half covering the books and the walls are the *thankas*, the oldest and most beautiful of all Kee's relics. They are among the last remaining legacies in Kee of the golden age of the western Tibet art, many of them date back three hundred years and more.

The walls of the central chapel, are beautifully painted with scenes from the *Jatakas* and from the historic Buddha's life. There are quaintly drawn figures of demons, gods and goddesses. There are several examples of the wheel of life, or, as it is more correctly called, the Wheel of Becoming. There is a painting representing the temptation of the Buddha. Lord Buddha is seen sitting under the sacred tree with his legs crossed in the lotus pose, his face serenely tranquil. A nude female of ravishing beauty clings to him in a lascivious embrace—her arms coiled round his neck, her legs circling his waist, her warm passionate cheek touching his, and her partly open, rapturous lips seeking his cold passionless mouth, and her whole body is lifted and poised in anticipation of the erotic climax.

There are paintings of the goddess Taradevi and of darkskinned Kali, standing naked with legs parted and arms raised, ready to strike and destroy.

The pictures are all drawn with great skill and painted with brilliant, well-balanced colours which never fade. The artist mixes these himself by rubbing stones of different colours on a wet surface and producing a paste. The artists are, in nearly all cases, local, but in some cases hired from Tibet and commissioned to do the work. The *thankas* in the Kee monastery are without question the finest in existence. They are, for the most part, brought from Lhasa by the local monks who went there for study or pilgrimage. Silver, jade and amber cups, dorje bells, incense-burners fashioned like gargoyles, brass and jade figurines are neatly arranged on the altar. Behind the altar, which runs along the entire wall, is a book case containing the hundred and eight sacred books.

Only the paintings on the walls are out of harmony with the rest of the *gompa,*

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and these more than anything emphasise the relatively recent reconstruction of the Kee monastery and also the decline in the standards of monastic painting. For though the subjects are the same in many cases as those on the *thankas*, the colours are garish and unseemly, contrasting sharply with the quiet beauty of the hangings.

There are the hangings, paintings on silk, many of them may have been rescued in the nick of time from the Rangrik monastery before it was sacked, while some were undoubtedly imported from the more richly endowed sister monastery in Tibet. Many of the paintings date back at least to the sixteenth century, for this period was the last in which anything of value was produced in western Tibet. In 1646 A.D., the central Tibetans supported by the Mongols, conquered the whole region, and with their conquest decline set in. The last three hundred years have in some ways been a dark age for the area.

In the central hall of the monastery there are two stucco idols : one is called Yum-chen-mo (magna mater), probably a form of Tara, the other sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokitesvara). There are several more stucco statues in the library opposite the temple, the most remarkable being Thse-dpag-med (Amitayus), Shakya thub-pa, Blo-bzang ye-shes, the Pan-chen, who resided at Trashilhumpo from 1663-1737 A.D.; Padmasambhava with two of his fairies, one being called Lha-sha-man-da-re-ba (Mandarava) the other mKha'-agro-ye-shes-gtso-rgyal.

The monasteries in Spiti represent three different sects of Lamaism. The above described belong to the Gu-lug-pa sect. The Kaza (Thang-Syed) monastery to Sa-skya-pa sect and Pin monastery of Pin valley belongs to the Dr-ug-pa. The Thang-gyud monastery is in the side valley of Kaza. It is also known as Sa-skya-song-mig. Although it has a certain fame on account of its antiquity, it is believed to be inferior to the Kee monastery. This monastery has always been favoured by the *Nonos* of Spiti, one of whose members takes orders as a Sa-skya-pa lama. Gong-mig means "the upper eye", and at the place where this monastery can be seen leaping out of a world of rocks, a *Chorten* was built.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and are away from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store rooms, round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *Drashaq* or cell in the monastery to which he is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks with their families—uncles, nephews, and brothers—may be found living together. There are generally two or three chapels—one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head Lama. The monks meet in the

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chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books. Narrow carpets are laid length wise on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk. Each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader. The abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor. The chapels consist of five large rooms, open down the centre, and separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the incarnation of the Buddha of the present age, of the coming incarnation of the next age, and of Guru Rinpoche, Atisa, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China may be seen on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case containing sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders. Similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes, the best pictures were brought from Tibet as presents to the monastery by the monks who had been to Lhasa for taking the degree of Gelong, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries in Tibet. They are painted in a very quaint and conventionalized style, but they evince considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels (Tung-gyur) which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *Chiam* or religious plays, also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.

In former times Kinnaur as well as Spiti attained an extraordinary degree of civilization. During its hey-day many monasteries were founded, some of which go back to the eleventh century A.D. Of these, Kanam is one of the most important. It is situated in a big village in Poo and the Sutlej flows about two miles below the settlement.

In Kanam there are seven big and small temples and monasteries. These monasteries are situated on the Hindustan-Tibet Road and one or two of them are said to be of ancient origin, and go back to the days of Lotsava Rin-Chen-Sang-po (Ratna Bhadra) 958-1055 A.D. Although no ancient remains can be found at Kanam, it is quite possible that a Lamaist monastery was built here in the 11th century. The present buildings were probably erected on the sites of still more ancient ones. The monastery may have been ransacked several times. Marco Palis mentions in his book *Peaks and Lamas* (1939) "that when he was in Kanam in 1933, the Lamazery was being drastically reconditioned, having become rather dilapidated. The work was being directed by a painter from Ladakh. Under him senior monks acted as foremen, while for labourers he had juniors and peasants of both sexes who were giving their

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spare time as an act of devotion. Thus it could be claimed that the entire labour employed was amateur except for the director. The masonry and woodwork were excellent. It was probably the artist's attention eventually to cover the walls with paintings."

The principal monastery of Kanam is Lundup Ganfel Gompha or Kache-le-Khang. It is situated at the top of the village, and the most imposing edifice. The Lama of the monastery calls it Lundup Ganfel Gompha, but the local people call it Khache-le-khang. In local dialect "*Khache*" means Muslims. But Rahul Sankrityayan, a great Sanskrit scholar and Tibetologist, who visited Kanam in 1949, says that the *Khache* does not only mean Muslim but also Kashmiri. According to him, this part of the country was neither invaded nor administrated directly by the Muslims.

He thinks it to be a Kashmiri-style temple. He writes that Ratan Bhadar (Rin-Chen-Sang-po) while going and coming back from Kashmir passed through Kanam. He got constructed a *Vihara* in Kashmiri style. Another view put forward by Rahul is that a Kashmiri scholar, Shakyavirbhadra went to Tibet and lived there for ten years up to 1213 A.D. On his way back to Kashmir he stayed in Kanam and had a *Vihara* constructed. Shakyavirbhadra in Bhot is known as Khacha-pan-chhen which means a great scholar from Kashmir. It is probable that he built a *Vihara* in Kanam which later came to be known as Khachele-khang. This monastery was founded more than eight hundred years ago, but the present building is of recent origin, and was built on the site of the old temple by Lama Tomo Gesha.

There are about 25 rooms in the monastery as it is a residential *Gompha.* It has cells for the Lamas who belong to the Ge-lug-pa sect and a temple. In the latter can be seen an image of the Buddha in gilt bronze with blue hair of the pin-head type. The chief interest of this monastery today lies in the fact that the poineer of Tibetan studies, the Hungarian Gosma de Koros, spent three years in it, studying the Tibetan language. He lived from August, 1827 to October 1830. The chief attraction of the little village of Kanam for Gsoma, rested in the fact that the monastery contains copies of the Kangyur and Tongyur, the great encyclopaedia of Lamaism. It was here that he was enabled to study these gigantic collections of Tibetan literature, and to write his still invaluable analysis of the Kangyur and Tongyur. The library is kept in a separate building called Bka-agyur, some distance below the monastery.

The library is situated in the heart of the village. It is a huge two-storeyed building in which 108 Kangyur and about 200 Tongyur books written in the Tibetan script are kept. The inside of the temple is dark. The access to the upper storey is through a wooden ladder where, there is a huge Buddha statue. The walls of this

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temple are hung with clay tablets engraved with the figure of the seated Buddha. These tablets are offered by the devotees and old tablets are removed from the walls to give place to new ones. Similarly slates and other stones on which prayers in Tibetan are etched, are offered to the temple by the devotees. These stones or slabs are heaped unceremoniously all around the temple.

There is yet a third Lamaist building in the place. It is called Lhabrang and is situated between the village and the fields. It is said to be of more or less or the same date as the first one. No ancient relic has been preserved in it. It contains a modern stucco statue of Maitreya. Another small stucco statue represents the White Tara, and is believed to be of some antiquity. It is really a good piece of workmanship, and the face shows expressive features, more spiritual than usual.

Poo, beyond Kanam in the Sutlej valley, is another important Buddhist centre in Kinnaur. Poo is situated on a plain on the right bank of the Sutlej and is very picturesque. The oldest of the existing temples of Poo is called Lo-tsa-bai-Lha-khang, and is believed to have been built by La-tas-va-Rin-Chen-Sang-po (Ratna-Bhadra), the spiritual adviser of King Ye-shes-o'd. It contains a stucoo statue of a seated Buddha, and two standing images of his disciples—Sariputra and Mandgalyayana, locally known as Shar-gyi-Bu (son of the Hast) and Mi-yong-gal. With these there is an another image of Sakya Muni. In front of these large images are three small images. Out of these two are of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara; one in stucco and other of wood. There are illustrated Tibetan manuscripts, called Ashatsatrika Prajya-paramita. Some of the illustrations are Indian. The temple also contains books, musical instruments and masks.

The *Dongjur* or *Mani* temple is in a field, just outside the village of Poo standing on the site of an older building. In the main room of this temple there is a big *Mani*. There are also two other Bodhisattva images. Originally it was dedicated to Bodhisattva Sakya Muni. Now it is called Rig-sum-Gompa and is dedicated to the three Bodhisattvas Avalokiteshvara, Manjushri and Vajrapani. In the 15th century when the *Mani* (prayer wheel) was introduced to Lamaism, these images were put into the background.

In 1909, when Dr. A. H. Francke was on his way to Leh, he passed through Poo, and halted there from the 2nd to 5th July. Here he also visited a village called dKor which is just below Poo. There he saw a stone inscription in Tibetan characters. This stone was lying in a field, belonging to a Lama, and was 180 cms high. The upper half of the sculpture showed a well-executed representation of a Stupa, the lower half that of a human being. This part of the stone was in a very bad state of preservation

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and most of it lay under ground. The human figure had a three pointed hat on his head. On the reverse of the stone was a Tibetan inscription of eleven lines. Only the first two lines were in a fair state of preservation which contains the name of Lha-bla-ma-ye-shes-od, an early 11th-century king of Guge, who sent Rin-Chen-Sang-po and other Tibetan scholars to Kashmir and India to study Buddhism, and also to invite the famous Buddhist monk Atisa to his kingdom. The words following the name were '*Sku-ring-la*', meaning "in his life time". The inscription also revealed that ten princes were sent to Poo. What was their object in this place, cannot be said with perfect certainty, but from the frequent occurrence of the word *Lha-Chos* (religion or the *lha*), and *Snagar-Chos* (former religion) it appears that they were sent here for the propagation of Buddhism. At the end of the inscription it is mentioned that they erected something. This was probably the first Buddhist temple at Poo. Local tradition asserts that it was erected in the place where the inscribed stone was found. As his site is lower than the most of the houses of Poo, and as an object of sanctity could not be raised on a lower elevation than ordinary houses, a new temple was built higher up, in the centre of Poo, and embellished with the furnishings of the old temple.

In the Hangrang Valley above Poo stands the village of Li or Leo, situated on the right bank of the Spiti and Lipak rivers. There is a monastery named bKra-shis-lhum-grub. This may be true, for it belongs to the rNyimgmapa sect, the most ancient order of the monks in Tibet. According to the abbot of the monastery, it was founded by Padmasambhava, which is quite probable, if it be not even older. Padmasambhava is also called Rimpoche. He is considered as an incarnation and is believed to have left a bronze plate at that place. In local dialect bronze is called Li. To perpetuate his memory this place came to be known as Li, and in course of time it was corrupted into Leo.

The present building does not appear to be of many years' standing, nor the few idols contained in it. At the monastery, however, they have an ancient and beautiful wood carving of teak wood, representing Buddha surrounded by Bodhisattvas. All the Bodhisattvas are of the primitive and simple type.

Nako, another important place and one of the largest villages of the Hangrang valley is 33.5 kms from Poo, on the left bank of the Spiti river. Close to it is situated the great 'Brugpa monastery, called Lo-tsa-pai Lha-khang. Four large temple halls of this monastery are still standing and form a kind of court. To the south-east of them, there are many ruins of other buildings, probably the cells of monks. There are also plenty of more or less ruined Chortens. This monastery is believed to have been founded by Lo-tsa-va Rin-Chen-Sang-po, in the days of King Ye-shes-'Od of Guge, c. 1025 A.D.

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The western hall is called Lha-khang-ched-po. The principal figure in this hall is that of rNam-par-snang-mdzad (Vairochana), the chief of the Dhyani-Buddhas of the five regions. On his right we find Don-Yod-grup-pa (Amogha-siddha) and Rin-Chen-byung-ldan (Ratna Sambhava); on his left rNang-ba-mtha-yas (Amitabha) an ! rDo-rje-sems-dpa (Vajra-sattva).

Rin-chen-byung-lden is represented once more on the same wall with a dragon frame, similar to that of the principal figure. In the "dragon frame" as well as in that of the stucco "sGrol-gser" in the northern temple we notice a curious development of a well known decorative motive of Indian art. It is very common in the architecture of Java, where archaeologists are in the habit of describing it as the *Kala-makara* ornament. Some, however, prefer the designation *Garuda-Naga* ornament. In the present instance the central figure at the top is undoubtedly a *Garuda*, but the two dragons at the sides still bear the character of the *Makaras*.

The southern temple is called dKar-byung-lha-khang, the "White temple". The northern temple is called Lha-khang-gong-ma, "upper temple". It contains the stucoo image of sGrol-gser, the Yellow Tara, in an elaborately carved wooden frame. This is one of the rarer forms of this popular deity, the Tibetans being more interested in the White and Green Taras. Of the latter deity, there is a representation in stucco in the same hall. The Yellow Tara is surrounded by frescoes representing the eight Medicine Buddhas (sman-bla).

The eastern temple is also called lha-khang-gong-ma which means "upper temple". It contains only frescoes. Opposite the door, there is a seated Buddha surrounded by his disciples. To the left of this picture is found a blue rDo-rje Change (Vajra-dhara). On the wall to the right of the door all the pictures of Thse-dpag-med (Amitayus), probably in his capacity of Medicine Buddha (sman-bla) surrounded by his eight followers. All these pictures bear Tibetan inscriptions in white paint. Only the following three names are still legible : Sa-Kya-thub-pa, Myang-ngan-med-mchogd-pal, Rin-Chan-zla-ba. Above the door, among other tutelary deities, there is a large stucco figure of King Kesarriding on a white rKyang (wild ass). At Nako he is called gLing-sing-Chen-rgyal-po, "Great lion king of gLing". This may point to a connection between the pre-Buddhist religion of the region and the Buddhism of the 11th century. There are many inscriptions on the walls. Besides Tibetan inscriptions there is a short inscription in Sharda characters.

Another little shrine to the south of the village of Naka is called sLob-dpen-zhabs-rjes, "Footprint of the Teacher". It is built over a natural rock showing a footprint of more than human size. Above the rock is placed a stucco figure of Padma-

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sambhava. The temple is furnished with frescoes of the same date as those in the Lha-khang-ched-po (Ched-pi is same as Tibetan Chen-mo, meaning "great"). They also have the same veneer which is found on the earlier mentioned pictures. This little temple was probably erected in the 11th century together with the great monastery. In the days of Rin-Chen-Sang-po, this footprint on the rock was believed to be that of Padmasambhava who had lived two and a half centuries earlier.

All the Mani walls round Nako are of recent date, like those of Li, the most ancient name mentioned on them being that of Metar (Mohender) Singh (1815-50) of Bashahr.

Chang or Chango is 54 kms. from Poo, and is situated on the left bank of the Spiti river in the Hangrang valley. The locally famous monastery of Tra-shi-tong-yang (bkra-shis-mthong-dhyangs) is situated on the opposite bank of the brook of Chang, on a rock, in the middle of a village. This monastery is asserted to have been founded by Padmasambhava, and contains his image. The Lamas belong to the Brugpa order.

In Lahaul the ancient Buddhist monasteries and temples consist of wooden structures with pyramidal pent roofs. They are decorated with interesting ancient wood carvings. There are eighteen monasteries in Lahaul, the chief and most noteworthy among them being those of Guru Ghantal (the Gondhla a monastery), and the Kangani, Kardang, Shashur and Tayul monasteries.

Of these the largest and most distinguished in Lahaul is that of Guru Ghantal or Gondola which stands on a mountain above the point of the confluence of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers. Tradition has it that it was founded by Padmasambhava in the 8th century. It has a wooden structure with pyramidal roofs and an interesting wood carving. The monastery preserves the idols of the Buddha, a lacquered Padmasambhava, Brajeshwari-Devi and others.

The most popular monastery in Lahaul is that of Kardang on the other side of the Bhaga, opposite Keylong. The monastery was founded about 900 years ago, but it lay in ruins till 1912 A.D. Lama Narbu, a resident of Kardang village, renounced his worldly goods and took up the life of a mendicant. He travelled on foot to distant places and visited Bhutan, Tibet, Lhasa, Kham, etc., and made a deep study of holy books. Then this saint came home, and preached the gospel of Dharma throughout Lahaul. In 1912 he renovated the monastery, and spend a large amount of money on its repairs.

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There are four chapels in the monastery, and in one of them the ashes of Lama Norbhu Rimpoche, who established the monastery, were interned in a silver-coated *Chorten*. This is about 1.20 mts. high. On the right of this *Chorten* are two statues of Padmasambhava and Tara Devi respectively. At the far end of the room, near the window, is a statue of Togdon Shakya Shri, the guru of the Lama Kunga and grandfather of Hishe Rangdol. The walls are decorated with colourful paintings of considerable merit. A tantric painting in which two figures, a male and a female, are shown in ecstatic union, decorates one of the walls. The female figure, the Shakti, represents the creative principle, and her symbolic union with male energy represents the highest bliss, the ecstasy of the mystics when the self is forgotten. Brass images are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar and on the other stands a book-case containing sacred books. The books are made up of bundles of loose sheets printed in the Tibetan language from engraved slates and wrapped in silk handkerchiefs. Cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round with the slightest touch of the finger, are placed on each side of the altar.

Another chapel has an image of Avalokiteshvara. This image has eleven heads one above the other and one thousand hands. The walls are painted with figures of the incarnations of the Buddha, of the coming *Avatars* in the next age, and of Lama Rimpoche, Atisa, Padmasambhava and other Tibetan saints. The paintings of male and female divinities, saints and demons painted in brilliant blue and red, on cloth with silk borders are hung on the walls. Some of these banners were brought from Lhasa by the monks when they returned after the degree of Galang.

Narrow Tibetan carpets are spread lengthwise on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk. The Head Lama sits on a raised seat above the common level of the floor. Besides chapels there are store-rooms. In these rooms are stored besides the drums, trumpets and cymbals, the dresses, weapons, and masks used in the Cham or devil dances as well as the robes and hats worn by the Lamas on ceremonial occasions. Separated by a lane, are the *Dashas* or cells of the Lamas and *Chomos*. They are provided with the windows with glass panes and prayer-flags. The nuns have separate cells. The Kardang monastery has twenty *dashes* which provide accommodation to twenty-two lamas and eight nuns.

There is another old monastery, the Shashur Gompa which lies on the hill behind Keylong, which is the district headquarters of Lahaul and Spiti. It was founded in the 17th century A.D. by Lama Deva Gyatsho of Ladakh whose idol is still kept there. This is a Drugpa sect lamasery. The building, a rectangular block, plastered over with mud and whitewashed, has a flat roof, ornamented with little flags, and crude but strong verandas project from the walls. The Lamas live in some crumbling

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old houses close by. Opposite the entrance gate of the monastery, there is, what might be either termed a gallery or lobby, another door which leads into a lofty apartment used as the kitchen; but turning to the left, and following the line of the dark corridor, and passing a large collection of prayer-wheels, an open court to the right is approached, equal in area to the kitchen, and looking through a doosway, one can see through the deep gloom a low room, lit up by a small skylight. The roof of this chamber is supported by massive beams, garnished with belts, swords, yak's tails, huge and horrible masks, feathers, and all sorts of odds and ends. Between the pillars are strings, on which necklaces of dried sweet scented flowers are arranged, and on the left are the huge flat drums, fixed into a stand and supported on staves. Curious feather-like crosses hang from every nook and corner, and to these are fastened scraps of what seem to be leaves of some wild plant, which float about in the air, and relieve with their colour the darkness around. Quaint and fantastic masks, covered with cloths and studded with black chowries, have been intermingled with the curious drum-sticks, vessels of all sorts, and the numberless other objects, which in the gloom cannot be identified. Round the walls are paintings in brilliant colours, and in one corner there is a large painted revolving prayer wheel, full of prayers, the ends of its axis being in the ceiling and floor, the devotee turns this round, a bell being stuck after one complete revolution, when all the prayers inside the vat are supposed to have been said, a most comfortable and convenient religion for those who cannot find time to pray for themselves or get some one to pray for them. The main objects of interest in this "Chamber of horrors" are the figures of the Buddha, and the attendant divinities, which are arranged somewhat like actors on a stage, or, more properly speaking, like figures in a waxwork. Along the raised recess sunk into the wall one can see the draped and ghostly figures of the gods. The figure of the giant-sized Buddha is coloured in pale white, and round him is loosely thrown a flowing robe of purple and white calico. The remaining images are likewise swathed in draperies but the feeble light from above partially falls upon the ghostly array and it is with difficulty that the features or contours of the figures can be traced. In front stretches a wooden trestle, with seven censers of brass, and in the middle of the floor is a block of timber, on which stands another censer full of oil, containing a wick, that is lit to show the interior to the visitors. The perpendicular front of the idol platform is painted in arabesque in vermilion, blue and white.

The other monasteries of Lahaul, connected with Ran-Chen-Sang-po are Tompa at Guumrang and Juling.

The basic architecture of the monasteries remained Tibetan, viz. solid construction of storeys or sometimes large sun-dried bricks, inward sloping walls with flat

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roofs supported by wooden pillars. Only the interior decoration of the temples was modelled upon the Indian style of the period.

CHORTEN OR CHAITYA

One remarkable type of structure demands special notice—the *Chorten*. The word means literally 'receptacle of worship'. The *Chorten* is derived from the Indian stupa, because it was introduced into these high plateaus at the time when Mahayana Buddhism was fostering new ideas and new architectural concept in India. It assumed forms different from these which prevailed during the most ancient period of Buddhism. The basic structure of a *Chorten* consists of a square foundation symbolizing the earth, a dome symbolizing water, and thirteen tapering steps of Enlightenment symbolising the element of fire. These steps lead to a stylized parasol, the symbol of wind, which is topped in the ethereal sphere by the well-known 'twin symbol' uniting the sun and the moon, which is the shimmering crown of a *Chorten*.

Certain architectural features apply to *Chortens* in general. They rest upon steps leading up to a square-shaped base, technically known as the 'throne' over which are four more steps of decreasing breadth. These support the bulbous structure known as the 'pot' (Skyo *Anda*) and from an intervening portion above this rise the wheels culminating in the image of the crescent moon and the sun. The number of umbrellas or wheels on the ancient prototype has increased to nine or thirteen. A wealth of literature has grown up around these buildings, setting forth their measurements, describing them and extolling the spiritual merit procured by their construction.

Chortens of all size, singly or in groups, were erected as monuments, flanking the pilgrim's route or bordering a temple. The eight *Mahachaitya* or *Chorten* commemorating the most important episodes in the life of the Buddha (Sakya Muni) form a special series. The first, the *Kutam Chorten*, is dedicated to the Buddha's birth. The second, the *Labab Chorten*, shows the Great Teacher's visit to the celestial sphere of the gods. The third, called the *Namgyal Chorten*, symbolizes the life-prolonging power of the patroness Namgylma. The fourth, the *Cathul Chorten*, reminds us of the Buddha's spiritual faculties that fought all the evil powers that put obstacles on his way to Enlightenment. The fifth, the *Dutual Chorten*, commemorates his victory over these evil forces. The sixth, the *Jangchub Chorten*, symbolises the final Enlightenment or the Buddha, i.e., freedom from sin and all wordly illusions. The seventh, the *Papung Chorten*, is dedicated to Buddha's discourse concerning the three paths that lead to spiritual liberation. These paths are also called the three vehicles, the small vehicle, Hinayana, also called the path of the Old Pupils, Shravakayana, the 'Vehicle of the

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Silent Buddha', Pratyekabuddhayana, who does not teach but concentrates on his own salvation, and the Great Vehicle, Mahayana, to which belong the 'Vehicle of the Bodhisattva' and the so-called 'Diamond Vehicle' (Vajrayana). This 'Diamond Vehicle or Path, is sometimes called Mantrayana or Yantrayana, because it traces holy syllables, diagrams, symbols, etc. that are part of the tantric 'Thinking-Picture-Tools'. The eighth, the *Myangda Chortem*, is the memorial monument commemorating Buddha's attainment of the highest Nirvana. The symbolic analogy of the structure of a *Chorten* and a saintly body may now be explained.

It is not uncommon to find, near places of particular sanctity, rows of *Chortens* built of earth or sun-dried bricks, and in such cases it was laid down in certain sacred texts that they should number 108. This practice of erecting rows of 108 *Chortens* is fully confirmed from Tabo.

Other *Chortens* have an opening right through the base forming a kind of arch-way over a road or track, so that travellers can pass through underneath. The passage, with its substantial side walls, thus serves as a support for the *Chorten* proper. In such cases the ceiling is decorated with paintings of the most popular divinities of the Buddhist pantheon, or the divinity to whom the construction is dedicated.

These *Chortens* are built by nameless local craftsmen, and as the builders worked under the direction of the Lamas who were not experts the structures achieved only very approximate imitation of the classical models. The *Chortens* are almost invariably built of squared stone sometimes in a style recalling the Gandhara building technique or simply built of sun-dried bricks with a plaster facing. The facing was frequently renewed since this was regarded as a meritorious act. Since there is usually no dedicatory inscription, it is not easy to establish the date of a *Chorten.*

The original function of these buildings, which was to contain relics of the Buddha or great teachers, was combined with a ritual significance, and these became linked in course of time with a symbolism making the monument a means of salvation. The buildings are believed to gain great merit for those who commission them. Sometimes the donor uses the length of his own arm as a unit of measurement in order to identify himself ideally with the construction.

The purpose of the *Chorten* is twofold. First it is a source of merit for whoever makes the ritual circumambulance around them; and secondly, they also serve as landmarks to the traveller who can see them from a long way off. Relics of various kinds are deposited inside them, the most common being bone-fragments or ashes of saints, collected after cremation and placed in a vase or objects that belong to the

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person concerned, a few of his clothings, for instance. In other cases the hollow of the edifice is filled with *Tsha-Tsha* which are made of clay kneaded with water and stamped with a bronze or copper mould whilst still fresh. Sometime they bear sacred inscriptions : the epitome of the perfection of wisdom in the single verse, as for example, this '*Of all things have a cause; the Buddha, the great ascetic, the truthful one, has revealed the cause end the stopping*'; or the syllables into which the secret essence of a deity is condensed. Alternatively they may be images of those deities or be moulded into the style of a *Chorten*.

Chorten can shelter any sacred object whether put there when they are built or inserted later on through special opening, particularly books. There are *Chortens* especially built to hold books—incomplete, crumpled or illegible. The *Chortens* therefore became a natural repository through whose small window any traveller or visitor could desposit leaves of books, *thankas*, statues or any sacred or ceremonial articles could not be deconsecrated but which with the passage of time had been rendered unsuitable for use. When members of caravans would see them they would always keep them to their right, reciting as they pass round them, the formula *Om mani padme hum.*

A *Chorten* that contains relics of a person considered particularly holy is called *gduss-rten*, and is usually built inside a temple. The *gduss-rten* is made of metal, usually bronze, and sometimes they are even made of precious metals adorned with precious or semi-precious stones.

The *Chorten* continued its development as most ubiquitous and popular of Buddhist religious symbols. They were constructed in great clusters around the temples or wherever there might be any excuse for founding them.

WOOD WORK

Taking wood work as next on our list, this art in Kinnaur, Lahaul & Spiti was influenced even more by the style of architectural construction. It reached a high standard there when in the eleventh, twelfth and the following centuries many monasteries were built and the Kashmiri craftsmen were engaged to work there. In building the Buddhist temples and monasteries they adopted wooden framework. This required highly skilled joinery. Carving was closely allied to this kind of work. Surviving buildings like Tabo monastery and Mirkula temple show that carvings on these buildings were more numerous and intricate than in other regions of this part of the country.

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Some outstanding carvings on beams and panels below the roof beams, as can be found in Guru Ghantal monastery and Mirkula temple in Lahaul, are rare at such high altitudes where wood is also rare. The wood carving on sacred buildings and even in the private houses in Kinnaur maintains its high standard up to the present time. The illustrations of the interior of the Mirkula and Tabo monasteries show that the carving formed an organic part of the structure and yet retained their artistic uniqueness and effect. Their complex, ornamental reliefs created a rhythmical contrast with the smooth columns and beams. Figural carvings executed in relief are mainly to be found on panel friezes below the roof, a typical feature of Kinnaur-Lahaul architecture. Decorative carvings were used mainly along the cross beams of the supporters.

If we consider only what has survived to our day, it must be said that the dominant influence was Indian as represented by Kashmiri art, though the local craftsmen especially Kinnauries developed and adopted this tradition in their own manner. The best examples of these carvings are found in Tabo monastery wherein in the doorways and panels of the temple various episodes from the life of the Buddha have been exhibited. It is certain that wood sculpture in Kinnaur, Lahaul & Spiti owes its development mainly to the spread of Buddhism in the eighth century, when Padmasambhava frequented this land and again at the beginning of the eleventh century under Rin-Chen-Sang-po and his Kashmiri artists and craftsmen. Wood work was more prolific in the later period, because it was stimulated by the revival of Buddhism and the Kashmiri enthusiasts, who were passionate supporters of this religion, and by the masses of the people who found in Buddhism a rational and emotional inspiration than they did in the dry and conservative doctrine of Bon-po. Indeed, the building of Buddhist temples and monasteries under the Buddhist rulers, and partly under the Buddhist monks, continued on a truly grandiose scale. These temple complexes were filled with every kind of wood sculptures, of religious and secular themes, and rich carvings. The most important commissions for wood-carving came from the builders of temples and monasteries. The type of work was also a great spiritual stimulus for wood-carving. Buddhist priest, and especially the rich and powerful patrons, gave their generous support to the art of wood sculpturing. This patronage of the arts was also a matter of prestige.

Hardly any wood sculpture has survived from the centuries of the first phase of Padmasambhava's time in Kinnaur-Lahaul, and relatively few works from the beginning of the second phase period have come down to us.

It is difficult to date many of the works to be found in the temples and monasteries. The works of art in these sanctuaries were not made at one time, but accumulated over decades and even centuries; they were renewed and replaced. This

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gradual growth and changes in the art collections of the temples etc., were, in many cases, influenced by the tradition of a given period and its specific spiritual and formal conception. The continuity in the growth of art collections in the temples and monasteries and their physical existence depended on the social and political state of the region, especially war and its aftermath.

We do not know how many works of art in wood were destroyed in the unscrupulous invasions by Ladakh in the sixteenth century, by Tibetan-Mangol (Seg-po) in the seventeenth century, and by Dogra's general Ghulam Khan in 1841 A.D., and after that by the Sikh army when after overcoming Kulu they sent a force to Spiti. The burnt condition of the mural paintings in the temple of the Pin monastery is said to have been due to the incendiarism of the Sikhs, but we cannot be certain. Nevertheless the list of the surviving works of carving in wood is not a long one. The monastery of Tabo owns a number of wooden sculptures. There are two very beautiful ancient wood sculptures of standing Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in attendance. These are eleventh century statues. Italian scholar Dr. G. Tucci writes in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, (Rome, 1949) that among the sculptures could be seen figures of the Ganga and of the Yamuna between two devas. In this case, as on the doors of Tabo and Tholing, there is no room for doubt. The artist was not Tibetan but Indian, no matter whether these panels were brought directly from India or made on the spot. To cite another example of the huge statue G.D. Khosla mentions in *Himalayan Circuit*. At a short distance from the village of Kaling in Pin Valley of Spiti lies a monastery where a gorgeous life-size statue of the Buddha is enshrined. This figure was carved out of wood and encased in silver by the silversmith of Rampur Bashahr, and is exquisitely fashioned.

Another example of exquisite sculpture is found in bKra-shis-lhun-grub monastery of Li in Kinnaur. It has an ancient and beautiful wood carving of teak-wood, representing the Buddha surrounded by Bodhisattvas. All the Bodhisattvas are of the primitive and simple type.

Mention must be made about the use of carved wooden book covers to protect the sheaf of the loose leaves of the Buddhist books of the Lamas. In most cases these covers are carved to some extent, the pattern being picked out with gilding. These covers are magnificently carved, showing elaborate figure-composition with the Buddha occupying the chief position.

Another important article of wood work is a "magic dart" (phur-pa) used especially for the ritual slaying of the human effigy (Linga) who represents the particular foe under attack, whether a supposed enemy of the doctrine, human or divine, or

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in more philosophical term the 'demon of the self.'

Lastly, the household objects. Chief among them are the low folding tables called *Chogtse*, at which people sit cross-legged while having their tea or meal. The back of the table is open, facing the sitter, but the three other sides are solid, and these are carved and often painted. They are painted by the Lamas with emblems of the lotus flowers, dragons, and lion's head. An interesting thing about the wood carving of Kinnaur, Lahaul and Spiti is the fact that it has maintained its high standard of craftsmanship and art to this day. It is, therefore, not difficult to find qualified restorers of wood carvings in this region. At present tradition wood work finds expression mainly in domestic architecture and small article of everyday use.

STONE SCULPTURE AND STUCCO

In Kinnaur, Lahaul & Spiti, by contrast with Kashmir and other parts of India, sculpture in stone was not very popular, although there is certainly no shortage of stone in this region The reason may be that numbers of original works in bronze, copper or other material, which were easier to carry, had been brought in by pilgrims. Consequently there were very few stone sculptures which could provide models to the sculptors. The sources do, however, indicate that there were stone carvers. Naturally, even stone sculpture in this trans-Himalaya region was influenced by the Indian traditions, which came to the region via Kashmir. A few examples of this work are known, such as the stone sculpture of Manju-ghosha which is placed just below the image of rNam-par-snang-mdzad in Tabo monastery chapel. This sculpture belongs to eleventh century. To the same period belongs another one in the middle of Chang village of Kinnaur. It is a life-size stone statue of Avalokiteshvra half-buried in a Mani wall. It is very rude and ugly image. The statue has only two arms and is painted white. The legend which is connected with this image is of some interest, because it is a version of a tale connected with Lang Darma's persecution of Buddhism.

The Chang legend says that many centuries ago, the image was carried down from some higher place by a flood. The Chang people found it, and tried to carry it up to the Tra-shi-tong-yang monastery, believing that this monastery would be the most suitable abode for the statue. However, a hundred men could not move it. Then a clever Lama guessed that the image wished to be set up in its present place. And so, when they tried to take it there, a single man could easily carry it.

The most important and exquisite example of sculpture is a marble head,

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which was dug up in Lahaul valley below the junction of the rivers Chandra and Bhaga and is now in Guru Ghantal monastery in Lahaul is the figure of Avalokiteshvara said to have been consecrated by Padmasambhava himself which is quite possible considering the age of the sculpture. The plastic austerity and stylistic sophistication of the excellent piece, having hypnotising eyes under gently arched eye-brows, bear the traces of all the qualities of Gupta classicism. This figure is by far the finest of all the stray sculptures of the seventh-eighth centuries traced in this region. The silky softness and warmth of the flesh and the slightly smiling dignified expression are achieved by the marvellously rounded face and the mildly upturned corners of the lips. The crown is typically Gupta-Kashmiri in construction with elaborate designs of jewels and strings of beads which gracefully dangle in semi-circles from equidistant points of support in the hair. The roundel in the crown above the forehead in which the Dhyani-Buddha is chiselled has unfortunately been damaged, but as the head, according to tradition, is of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, the figure in the roundel is undoubtedly of the Dhyani-Buddha Amitabha.

Figures carved on the rocks are often found on the paths leading to holy places, at fords or at other perilous places, near suspension bridges, or at places where there is a danger of landslides. The oldest of these represent the Buddha, while the later ones are of other divinities who were credited with power to protect the faithful, in particular those of Avalokiteshvara and Tara. This custom was probably introduced centuries ago at similar places, where such carvings marked the routes of pilgrims bound for the sacred places in north-western provinces of India, Ladakh and Swat, for example. The rock carvings of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas are mostly found in Lahaul valley on the road side. At Gondhla is a huge rock on which the figures of the Buddha and two of his disciples are carved. It was probably the first sketch made by a sculptor, who in all probability could not complete his work. The other ones are to be found in the centre of the village Kardang, and in Khangsar, Shansha, Kalong and Kelang villages. Carving in relief is also employed on the "Mani walls" to alternate the protective deity's actual image with his formula carved on the stone. These figures are generally in very low relief, sometimes simply graffiti, carved by the local people and with no pretensions to art.

Statues were also executed in richly painted clay and terracotta. Such statues are called stucco (*Dzaku*). Some of the temples of Kinnaur, Lahaul and Spiti contain fine examples of this type of images. They stand out against backgrounds frescoed with myriad small figures of divinities. Such stucco images are also found in the Tabo monastery; they date back to the early eleventh century. Along its walls are aligned large images of standing and sitting Bodhisattvas. The main temple of Tabo preserves a complete set in stucco of the principal divinities of his *Mandala* (mystic

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circle), namely Vairochana himself, the other four Buddhas of the directions, each flanked by four attendant Bodhisattvas and the eight goddesses of worship and four fierce guardians of the four directions. In many of the texts which Rin-Chen-Sang-po translated, he was concerned with the same set of divinities. This art is generally anonymous. The Indo-Tibetan artistic criteria of the beauty of a statue are always based on the exactness of proportions, the care with which minor details—such as fingers, crowns and fabric designs—are executed, and the smoothness and finish of the surface which is as a rule polished and non-porus. Obviously the sculptors were indebted to those sources from which they drew their religion and culture. According to tradition, many statues have been imported into this region since the time of the first introduction of Buddhism, and even since the time of founding of the monasteries in Kinnaur, Lahaul & Spiti especially in the tenth and eleventh centuries. There are thousands of bronzes lying in the monasteries.

The treatise writers have traced the various styles to their origins in Indian schools like Kashmir and Palas of Bengal and Bihar. Especially during the early years of spread of Buddhism, there was a large scale importation of Buddhist statues to Tibet and Western Himalayan region from India. These were brought by Buddhist missionaries and traders, and were presented to the temples where these missionaries lived and died. It is also known that Rin-Chen-Sang-po sent for artists from Kashmir. There is no doubt that the door posts of Tabo with panels illustrating the life of the Buddha are the work of artists from Kashmir.

Like other Indo-Tibetan art, sculpture is bound by a strict iconography. Because of this there is considerable rigidity in the execution of a statue, and only a few succeed in expressing the serene contemplation of the Buddha. The artist achieved more powerful representations in their depictions of terrifying deities either prepared to meet the assault of demoniacal forces or performing a frantic dance after having exterminated them. Also more effective are representations of the coupled statues of tantric deities who symbolised the fusion of the active force and compassion and gnosis that could be attained only by punctilious performance of ceremonies in order to attain Nirvana. These images are generally endowed with many heads and often with arms that are raised, each hand holding a weapon or ritual object; the resulting rhythms of moving masses are striking in their effect.

The images represent the vast pantheon of the Mahayana and the Vajrayana sects, and are inspired by the literature of the *Sadhana*, which gives minute instruction about the liturgical rites that accompany the evocation and describes in detail the colour, throne, weapons, ornaments, the position in which the divinity sits, gestures, the hair style, shape of the diadems and jewels, the number of heads and arms, and

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many other objects as well as symbols. These elements, make up the iconography of each divinity and when there is no inscription in the light of these data one can identify the gods represented.

Among the divinities most often represented are sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteshvara), the pattern god, and sGralma (Tara). Both are invoked against the eight principal dangers that threaten man (e.g. fire, water, thieves and so on). Together with a Jamdpal (Manjusri), they constitute the triad of deities who protect humankind.

Representations of Avalokiteshvara may take many forms, the most common being images with four arms. There are images with eleven heads as also images having thousand arms and thousand eyes (an eye in the palm of each hand). Images of Tara, in one of the twenty-one principal manifestations, of Sakya Muni and of the Yi-dam, personal protective divinities, are generally found in private chapels. The images of Rin-poche (the precious master), Padmasambhava (the second Buddha), and for the followers of the dGe-lugs-pa school, the image of Tson-K, apa are also common. The images of great Buddhist Masters and ascetics are innumerable. Though the subjects are wrapped in their garments and seated in the hieratic position, these statues have none of the conventionality of the images of the gods, because the artists succeeded in capturing the spiritual as well as the physical qualities of the gods represented.

PAINTING

Himalayan painting is largely religious and expresses the faith and ideals of the people. Himalayan art and culture have in fact a blending of Hinduism and Buddhism. Vajaryana, the most important school of Buddhism, was mainly responsible for tantrism in the Himalayas, relying on magical formulae (*Mantras*) and magical ceremonies. It also introduces pantheon of goddesses (Taras) and other gods, demons, Siddhas, Arhats, etc.

What has been mentioned about sculpture applies equally to painting. Surviving examples of very early paintings from the monasteries display a style of Buddhist art of unsurpassable purity and perfection, comparable to those of the cave temples of India. Fortunately, some examples of this early style are also to be found in Tabo monastery. According to Dr. David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, the painting must have been carried out under the direction of Indian artists, who, in the manner still followed by Tibetan master artists to this day, would sketch the divine images according to the conventionally fixed measurements, leaving their pupils to fill

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in the different colours.

The same authors, in their book *Cultural History of Tibet* have published a photograph of an eleventh century fresco from the old monastery of Tabo in Spiti. The divinity is rDo-rje-chang (Skr. Vajradhara), 'Holder of the Power Bolt', the Supreme Buddha revered by Indian Buddhist Tantric Yogins and by the older orders of Tibetan Buddhism. According to Dr. Giusappa Tucci, the famous Italian Tibetologist, the evidence of Kashmiri influence at work in West Tibet is provided by the wooden pillars flanking the doors of Tabo in Spiti, which was put up at Rin-Chen-Sang-po's command. Reliefs on their successive panels represent the leading episodes from the life of the Buddha. Here frescos of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and ascetics, all painted by eleventh-century Kashmiri artists, clearly demonstrate the kinship of the Kashmiri art of that time with Indian classical paintings. Other frescoes in the temple, though executed in the same style, present a certain formal rigidity that suggest their attribution to native apprentices.

Many other monasteries of Kinnaur, Lahaul & Spiti, such as those at Nako, Chang, Dhanker, Gamur and other shrines of the same period, preserve murals and paintings on cloth in the style of Kashmir. The presence of Kashmiri artists in this region is affirmed by literary sources. These state that when Rin-Chen-Sang-po, founder of many monasteries, while returning from Kashmir, brought back not only manuscripts and teachers to help in the translations of the Sacred Texts, but also artists, the names of some of whom are preserved in the shrines their patrons were erecting throughout the country.

The paintings poured off when the Buddhist missionaries and pilgrims from the Indian plain and Kashmir, Tibet and other neighbouring countries brought with them the paintings known as *patta* in Sanskrit and *thankas* (*tankas*) in Tibetan. Although these are now hung in temples, their name indicate that they were rolled up and carried by travellers—as they still do today to provide protection from evil spirits,—or were used by minstrels to illustrate the episodes they were describing. In the absence of the originals on which they were modelled it is difficult to be sure which was the predominant style, but on geographical grounds and on the basis of comparison with the works of sculpture which have come down to us it is possible to say that the Kashmiri style at first predominated in western Tibet and its adjoining Himachal valleys of Kinnaur, Lahaul & Spiti, to be followed later by the Nepalese style throughout Tibet.

Of the later period the largest collection of these paintings called *tahankas* is preserved in the Kee monastery of Spiti, but almost all the monasteries of the region

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have these *thankas*. The *thankas* are traditional Buddhist scroll paintings drawn on cloth. Himalayan art is popularly expressed in *thankas*. They are wonderful compositions with geometrical arrangements known as *Mandalas* and are steeped in oriental tradition. The *Mandalas* are formed in a strict geometrical pattern that is two-dimensional, but in certain cases it is formed in such a way that they appear to be three dimensional to give the impression of the "mountain of the god". *Mandalas* are cosmic symbols whose strict geometrical structure displays the order of the cosmos.

They are mostly arranged in squares; on each side are projections, known as gates, divided by diagonals into four parts differently coloured. In the centre there is an intricate rosette of outlines of lotus-leaves which are filled with divine figures. Inside the rosette stands a divine figure and sometimes, a book protected by a parasol. The large square is also surrounded by several lotus-leaves, and the space between the square and the innermost circle filled with various kinds of symbols of good fortune, such as banners of victory. Finally, the whole composition is enclosed by a border of rainbows and flames; the latter providing the *Mandala* with an outer border. The border is provided because a circular figure of this type is often shown on a long piece of linen, leaving ample space free above and below the *Mandala*. On the upper side the space is filled in by adding a number of figures of peaceloving gods and by the drawings of a series of saints and hierarchs who belong to the sect of the person giving the commission. The names of these figures are frequently given. This sometimes makes it possible to determine approximately the age of paintings, because the dating of those figures who occupy the most important places can be derived with certainty from historical sources. The space beneath the *Mandala* is almost always inhabited by three or five diabolical figures belonging to the sequence of protectors of the doctrine. All these not-so-important figures stand out against the background of a landscape. They have a purely decorative value, and serve as an introduction to meditative practice, which is limited to the *Mandala* proper. However, these subordinate figures can be executed with great skill and devotion, and not infrequently they are depicted with masterly skill.

Buddhist religious *Thankas* generally depict *Jataka* tales which recount events of the past lives of the Buddha. They also depict stories from lives of other Buddhist saints. These *Thankas* generally are rich compositions. Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and other divinities are almost never depicted alone, but are portrayed with an impressive retinues of acolytes. In other representations these deities dominate the composition and are shown as a choir of elect in their own paradise. The essential schemes of these paradises also are defined by a literature dedicated to them that sets forth the manner in which they must be depicted. Everything that is divine is unalterable and cannot be left to the artists' choice, lest the sacred character of the painting should be diminish-

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ed. Carftsmen were trained as apprentices in monasteries, where they worked mainly by copying well-known images of the deities and scenes. But they seldom signed their *tanankas* and bronzes. Therefore Buddhist art of this region is always as a rule anonymous.

Some of the *thankas* depict terrifying scenes portraying bodies disintegrating, ejecting blood, skeletons, dead creatures and various mutilations of the body. They represent mystical motifs and unearthly happenings. Tantric *thankas* depict Siddhas, gods, goddesses, demons, *Apasaras, Yoginis* in various *Asanas* (poses). Tantrism stands for *Mahamudra*, the esoteric doctrine propounded to free the living beings more quickly from *Samsara* (wordly ills).

In Hindu tantrism, the female is regarded as the active element of the partnership and is called *Shakti*. In Buddhist tantrism, on the contrary, she is regarded as the passive partner, called *Prajna*. When the Buddhist deities are pictured in union, the female symbolises the absolute while the male represents the *Upaya* or the expedient by which human beings are liberated. Tantric *thankas* are believed to ward off the "Evil Eye", maleficent influences, to prevent diseases and mental depression.

These *thanka* paintings are of sacred and ceremonial subjects. They are hung up in the temples or private chapels, or carefully rolled up to be carried when travelling, because, it was thought that, the divinity lodged in the painting would protect the bearer from perils.

The paintings are done on cotton, more rarely on canvas. The piece of cotton used is generally oblong, but may also be square. It is cut to the desired size and kept at a suitable tension on a frame. It is then saturated with a mixture of lime and vegetable gum. Then this is dried and rubbed to make the surface smooth. The outlines of the figure and the subjects to be represented are sketched in charcoal on the surface. Drawing always begins with the central figure which, as mentioned above, represents the focal point of the composition. Next, the various colours are applied with a brush. The colours that were used were minerals or organic. Gold was widely used either for the details of garments or for the emblems of the deities represented.

The colours are important as indications of the aspect under which the divinity is represented. For examples, a god in his calm aspect is represented in white, while in a combative or terrifying aspect he is depicted in red or dark-blue. Bodhisttvas are separated into groups according to their degree or dependence on the five Buddhas. The Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas and other divinities descended from

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them or are connected with them through spiritual links or relationships have each their own particular colour. Even in the choice of colour, therefore, the artist was not free.

When the painting is finished it is mounted, and this is also carried out in accordance with certain rules. The picture is enclosed within a so-called red or yellow rainbow border symbolizing the power radiating from it. This border consists of two bands. The inner one is yellow and the outer one red, both are of silk and of equal width, as thick as a finger or a thumb. This rainbow border is surrounded by the actual frame, which consists of multicoloured Chinese silk embroidered with various patterns.

In some monasteries, in place of the *thanka* paintings that usually cover the walls there are mural paintings, the oldest specimens of which were probably executed by means of fresco technique. Tabo monastery is famous for ancient mural paintings. These are said to date back to be eleventh and twelfth centuries. The walls at Kardang monastery in Lahaul are also painted with figures of the incarnations of the Buddha, on his future incarnations in the next age, and of Lama Rimpoche, Atisa, Padmasambhava and other Indo-Tibetan saints.

In the case of wall paintings a layer of impasto is first spread over the wall and a lime and gum mixture applied; the line-drawing is sketched out on the prepared surface and then painting is begun. The selection of paintings on the temple walls is determined by ceremonial observances. The great pictures succeed one another in the order required by the texts describing them. Their aim is not decorative, but to invest the temple with a sacred character that it must have in order to fulfil its task. These temple frescoes are chiefly addressed to the initiate who alone can understand their secrets. To the layman they serve for edification. He can read their general significance in the inscriptions that often accompany them.

In the interior of some of the temples there are sometimes paintings on wood. Such paintings have frequently been more elaboratively worked and better preserved on the rear walls of altars and on the ceilings, which are often decorated with great skill and artistry.

The style of illuminated manuscripts, which are common in the monasteries, came from India and Nepal. Usually the images of the divinities and the Buddhist Masters appear on the first and last pages of the texts, but there are many manuscripts in which the inside pages also are decorated with miniatures. Many books are written in characters of silver or gold on large sheets of paper that are often tinted dark-blue.

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These works are often protected by gilded covers. The prominent motifs on these covers are the five Buddhas and the goddess Ser-p-yen, surrounded by minor divinities.

OTHER CRAFTS

Of the other objects in daily use which are artistically decorated, the first are the religious attributes of the Lama, especially *Vajra* and the paryer-bell. They have a ritual use and symbolize the method and the doctrine. The *Vajra* (*Dorje*) is the strange small sceptre which originally represented Indra's weapon with which he clove through the clouds and freed the waters; it has become the weapon of the priest with which he splits the clouds of darkness and ignorance and releases the higher knowledge. This object has the appearance of two claws placed opposite one another on a short rod. They have five or sometimes nine nails, of which one is straight and stands in the middle, always surrounded by four (or eight) others which are bent and almost touch the tip of the centre nail.

The priest bell (*Ghanti*) has a similar point and under it there is often the head of a god with a friendly aspect which, together with the *Vajra* claw, forms the handle. It is cast separately from the bell itself and affixed to it with a pin. The bell has the actual shape of a Stupa, and it is not by chance that it is often decorated with the garlands with which these monuments were adorned in former days.

A very typical ritual attribute is the *Pur-bu* or magic dagger, which always has a clover-leaf blade and is crowned by the three-fold head of a monster in whose mane there is either a *Vajra* or a horse's head. This is of course one of the shapes assumed by the demon Hayagriva, the 'horse headed one' or 'god with the horse head' as he is usually known. He belongs to the series of eight fearful ones. This magic dagger should really be made of *Khadira* wood, but it is usually made of bronze. Sometimes, however, specimens made of wood are met with, and also specimens in precious metal. During the tantric ceremonial it was their function to cast a spell on the devils that had been summoned up i.e. to hold them fast. Today this object has degenerated into a mere article of decorations.

In its simplest form the prayer wheel consists of a hollow bronze cylinder. On the outside it usually has, in a simple decorative form, embossed mystical syllables, while inside there is a roll of paper which is as broad as the cylinder is high and bears the prayer formula, usually *Om Mani Padme Hum*. The bronze cylinder is sometimes enclosed on both sides with a round lid. The lower lid is decorated with a figure of a

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double *Vajra* (cross) and the upper one has a many leaved lotus-blossom. In the middle of this round lid there is an opening through which an iron pivot can be inserted. Its lower side has a wooden handle, while its upper end projects some distance beyond the top lid of the cylinder on which there is a locking knob in the form of a jewel cast in bronze. This holds the cylinder fast to its metal axis. In the middle the side of the cylinder, there is a metal eye to which a small chain is fastened. At its end hangs a heavy piece of metal, usually in the form of a cube with trimmed corners.

The prayer wheels do, however, include some magnificent works. Some are even manufactured of semiprecious stones and decorated with gold and inlaid with small precious stones. They reveal a disposition to colourful adornment and an almost overpowering love of magnificence. The best description of a prayer wheel is recorded by C. F. Goron Cumming in his work *In the Himalayas and in the Indian Plains* (1886). He visited Kinnaur in 1884 A.D. and writes that "In Rarung Buddhist temple there is a colossal Prayer Wheel, like a very large barrel organ, turned by a great iron crank, which acts as handle. It is a great cylinder, about 3.70 mts. high and 1.80 or 2.45 mts. in diameter. It is painted in circular bands of gold and bright colour and on every band is inscribed the oft recurring Buddhist ascription, which usurps the place of all prayer—the ascription of praise "To the most glorious Jewel, the Lotus". The cylinder is said to be full of similar sentences and as it slowly revolves on its axis, is most musical bell marks each revolution, and the worshipper is accredited with having uttered that short compendium of devotion just so many times as it is repeated within the cylinder. This great barrel is the devotion store for the neighbourhood and men from distant villages who are not provided with such time-saving wheels of devotion, take advantage of a visit to Rarung, to work off a few thousand acts of praise as their own behalf and that of their relation. It is rather hard work, as a stiff handle works the great iron crank which causes the cylinder to revolve on its axis".

They are set up in all public places in Kinnaur, Lahaul & Spiti so that the poor, who do not possess such luxuries as little pocket wheels of devotion may not lose their chance of this heaping up of merit. They are erected at the doors of dwelling houses, so that every man going in or out may set them spinning for his own benefit and that of the inmates and in some of Lama monasteries there are many rows of such cylinders, about 30 cms in height, conveniently arranged, and so lightly poised, that the most casual passerby could scarcely abstain from running his hand along them, and so set all spinning the wheels diligently weaving a garment of praise for the benefit of him who set them to work.

Mention may be made of another article of daily use, namely, tea pots which are adorned with bends of silver, richly chased, this mixing of metals is

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a favourite device of the Kinnauri and Spitian smiths. Usually the spout is made to issue from between the jaws of a sea monster, while the handle is formed out of a dragon, the variety of forms assumed by this common domestic utensil is very great, as one might expect in view of the habit of tea drinking in the day-to-day life of the people.

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CHRONOLOGY

History, Art and Culture

India	Date	Himachal Pradesh
Stone age—Soan Industry in Punjab.	Pre-history	Soan type industry in Beas-Banganga valley of Kangra, Sutlej valley of Bilaspur, Sirsa valley of Nalagarh and Suketi Valley of Sirmur.
Pre-Indus Valley Culture.	3200 B. C.	Kolarian, the people of Neolithic Culture in the Shiwalik foot hills. Collective hunting and feasting. Autochthonous religion.
Beginning of Indus Civilization.	3000 B. C.	
Hay-day of Indus Valley civilization. Indus Valley seals bearing the proto type of Shiva, the lord of animals and terracotta indicating worship of Great mother. Inscriptions on seals. Expansion of the Indus people to the north and east up to Yamuna Valley.	2500-1700 B. C.	Penetration by the Indus Valley people up to Rupar in the Himalayan foot hills and in the inner valley of the Saraswati. The Kolarian people migrate into the inner Himalayan valleys.
Advent of Aryans in the Sapta Sindhu (Indus Valley). Decline of Indus Civilization.	2000-1700 B. C.	Khashas, a branch of the Aryan cross the Pamir, enter Kashmir, and advance to Himachal, Garhwal-Kumaun and Nepal. Establish their colonies.
End of Indus Valley Civilization. Aryanisation	1700-1500 B.C.	Shambra, the non-Aryan king and his ninety-nine forts in the hills.

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of Yamuna and Ganga Valley.		Fights for 40 years with Aryan king Sudasa. Ultimately killed in the hills.
Compilation of Regveda, Atharvaveda and Yajurveda.	1500-1300 B.C.	Vedic Rishi Jamdagni establishes his hermitage at Rainuka in Sirmur. Vashishta Rishi's Ashram at Vashisht Kund in Kulu Valley.
Iron age. Mahabharata.	1000 B. C.	Traditional date of the founding of Trigarta Kingdom by Susharma Chandra in Beas Valley.
Composition of Brahmanas.	1000-800 B. C.	
Upanishidas.	800-600 B. C.	
Rise of Magadha Empire.	600 B. C.	
Sidharath the Gautma Buddha.	563-483 B.C.	Gautma Buddha visits Srunghana and Kuluta.
First Buddhist council at Rajgriha under the auspices of Ajatashatru.	483 B. C.	
Panini.	c. 450 B.C.	Panini mentions of Trigasta, Audumbara, Kuluta and Kulinda Janpadas (Tribla Republics) in Ashtadhayayi. Tentative date of the foundation of Bashahr-Kinnaur Kingdom.
Second Buddhist Council at Vaishali.	383 B. C.	
Alexander in Punjab. Chandragupta and Chanakya recruit the army from Punjab.	326 B. C.	Chanakya seeks the help of Parvatakas, the king of the Himavakuta Kingdom probably the king of Trigasta or Kuluta. Recruits the army of Khashas and Kiratas from that country.
Foundations of Mauryan Empire by Chandragupta.	321 B. C.	Opposition of the supremacy of Chandragupta Maurya by Chitra Varma of Kuluta.
Mauryan Art.	300-200 B. C.	
Asoka the great.	273-232 B. C.	Asoka extends his territorial limits to the Himalayas. Himachal region comes under the sovereignty of Asoka.

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Third Buddhist Council at Patliputra.	c. 250 B. C.	Buddhist mission under Majjhima goes to the Himalayan country. Asoka's Kalsi Rock inscription at the confluence of Tons and Yamuna rivers in Jaunsar-Bawar. Asoka builds a Stupa in Kulu Valley.[1] Asoka pillar at Topra.[2]
End of Mauryan Empire.	185 B. C.	
Sunga in Magadha.	185-73 B. C.	The Tribal Janpadas of Trigasta, Audumbara, Kuluta and Kuninda became free of Magadha Supremacy. Janpadas issues copper and silver coins from the Second century B.C. to third century A.D.
	c. 200 B. C.	Pathiar (Kangra) inscription records the dedication of a tank and a garden by Vayla.
Mathura School of Sculptures.	c. 200 B. C.-500 A. D.	
Ajanta caves.[3]	200 B. C.-600 A. D.	
Malinda (Menander) King of the Punjab.	155-130 B. C.	
Kushana Empire	50 B. C.-225 A. D.	Himachal forms the part of Kushana Empire.[4]
Gandhara Art.	50 B.C.-500 A. D.	
Development of first Buddha image at Mathura	1 B. C.	
Initial year of the Vikrama era.	58 A. D.	
Kanishka. Fourth Buddhist Conference.	78-101 A. D.	Fourth Buddhist conference according to Teranath and others at Kuvana monastery of Jalandhara

1. Hiuen Tsang.
2. This pillar was removed in 1356 A.D. by Firoz Shah Tughlaq from Topra to Delhi and erected at Kotla. Cunningham indentifies the ancient site of pillar with Poata in Sirmur, not far from Kalsi Rock inscription.
3. First cave was built during the Satvahana period and continued from 2nd century B.C. to 2nd A.D.
4. Coins of Vema Kadphis and Kanishka found on Kalka-Simla road and at Kanhiara in Kangra.

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		the capital of Jalandhara-Trigarta Kingdom.
Saka era.	78 A. D.	
Nagarjuna-Buddhism splits into two schools—Mahayana and Hinayana.	200 A. D.	Kanhiara (near Dharamsala in Kangra) inscription in Brahami and Kharoshti mentions the existence of a Buddhist monastery (foundation by Krishnayasa).
	c. 200-300 A. D.	Kulu lota (found at Kundlah in Kulu) depicts Buddha's procession. Traditional date of the foundation of Kulu principality by Behanga-mani.
	c. 300-650 A. D.	Varman Dynasty of Singhpura Kingdom (Jaunsar Bawar).
Gupta Empire.	320-536 A. D.	Extinction of Audumbara, Kuluta and Kuninda Janpadas.
Works of Kalidasa.	400-450 A. D.	Mention of Kinnaras by Kalidasa.
	c. 400-500 A. D.	Salri, village Salanu near Manglaur in Mandi rock inscription mentions Maharaja Sri Chandesvara Hastin's Victory over Rajjila Bala.
Fa-Hien in India.	401-410 A. D.	
Huna's invasion of India. Skandagupta's victory over the Hunas.	456 A. D.	
	c. 500 A. D.	Mention of Trigarta in Rajataran-gini.
End of Gupta Empire. Huna Kings Tormana and Mihirkula.	500 A. D.	
	500-600 A. D.	Chehri (near Nagarkot, Kangra) inscription records a Buddhist temple of Boar headed goddess Vijra Varahi-Chetru (near Nagar-kot) ruins of Buddhist stupa and Buddha statue (now in Lahore Museum). Buddha's brass statuette inlaid

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		with silver from Fatepur (Kangra).
Chalukya Dynasty and art.	c. 550-750 A. D. c. 650 A. D.	Foundation of Brahmpur (Brahmaur-Chamba) kingdom by Maru Varman in Upper Ravi Valley.
Pallava Dynasty and art	c. 600-850 A. D.	Evolution of the institution of Ranas and Thakurs. Gujjara migration to the hills. Surya and Kartikeya cult.
Harshavardhana of Kanauj	606-647 A. D.	
	c. 613 or 630 A. D.	Nirmand (a village in upper Sutlej Valley) copper Plate of Mahasamanta Samudrasena to Parshu Rama temple.
Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in India.	630-644 A. D.	Hiuen-Tsang visits Jalandhara, Kuluta and Lahaul in 635 A. D.
	c. 680-700 A. D.	Foundation of Shikhara style temple of Mani Mahesh and hill style temple of Lakshana Devi at Brahmaur and Shakti Devi temple at Chhatrarhi by Raja Meru Varman. Inscribed bronze images of Lakshana Devi, Ganesha, Narshingh and Nandi at Brahmaur and Shakti Devi at Chhatrarhi by Gugga for Raja Meru Varman.
	c. 700 A. D.	Lakhamandal inscription records the foundation of a Shiva temple by princess Isvara in memory of her husband Srichandragupta the son of a King of Jalandhara.
	c. 700 A. D.	End of the pre-Buddhist Hindu dynasty of Spiti.
Rise of Agnikula Rajputs.	c. 700-800 A. D.	Hatkoti (Jubbal) temples and stone and metal sculptures of Mahishasurmardani, Vishnu, Ganesha and Surya.
Rajput-Renaissance	700-1000 A. D.	
Yashovarman of Kanauj.	709-740 A. D.	

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Lalityaditya of Kashmir	725-756 A. D.	
Surya temple at Martand		
The Pratihara Empire	725-756 A. D.	
The Rise of Rashtra-Kuta empire. Kailash temple of Ellora and Elephanta caves (c. 760-800 A.D.).	750-975 A. D.	c. Mid 8th century- Padmasambhava in Rewalsar.
Pala Kingdom, Pala school of Painting and sculptures.	750-1162 A. D.	
Dharamapala advances in Western Himalaya.	770-815 A. D.	
Shankra Acharya.	788-820 A. D.	Establishes Badrika-Ashram in Uttarakhanda (Garhwal).
	c. 800-900 A. D.	Founding of ancient Sirmur Kingdom.
		Surya temple at Nirath in Upper Sutlej Valley.
		Vishvesvara Mahadeva temple at Bajaura, Kulu.
		Rock cut temple of Masrur, Kangra Valley.
		Gauri-Shanker temple and metal image at Mamel in Karsog, Mandi district.
		Rangnath temple Bilaspur (now under Govind Sagar lake).
	800-1000 A. D.	Vaishnavism introduced into the hills.
Chandelas	831-1308 A. D.	
Cholas	846-1279 A. D.	
	c. 900 A. D.	Foundation of Kahlur principality by Vir Chand Chandel in Sutlej Valley.
	c. 920 A. D.	Raja Sahila Varman of Brahmaur. Foundation of Chamba town.
		Construction of Chandravati, Chandragupta, Kameshwara, Lakshmi-Naryan temples at Chamba

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		and Chandra Shakhara temple at Saho.
	c. 940 A. D.	Raja Yugakara Varman builds Gauri Shanker temple at Chamba. Queen Tribhavam Rekha builds Narsingh temple at Brahmaur. Brass statue of Gauri-Shanker temple Chamba.
	900-1000 A. D.	Inscribed metal mask of Majuni devi, queen or goddess of a Raja Hema Prakasha of Kulu in Parshu Rama temple, Nirmand. Birch-bark painting in Kulu. Kartikeya-sculpture and temple near Kulu. Vishnu Chaturmurti bronze image of Hari Har Rai temple Chamba.
	996 A. D.	Foundation of Tabo monastery in Spiti valley by Rin-Chen-Sang-po, a Buddhist monk and scholar of Guge (Western Tibet) and King Byang-Chub-sems-po of Ladakh.
	c. 1000 A. D.	Svachchhanda-Bhairvi bronze image from Chamba, (now in National Museum Delhi).
Advent of Muslim and raids of Mahmud of Ghazni	1001-1030 A. D.	
	1009 A. D.	Capture of Kangra fort by Mahmud of Ghazni.
Albruni in India	1017-1030 A. D.	
	1025 A. D.	Foundation of Kanam and Nako Monasteries in Kinnaur by Rin-Chen-sang-po (958-1055 A. D.).
Ananta Deva of Kashmir	1028-1068 A. D.	Mention of Chamba in Rajatarangani. Earliest fountain stone of Sai and Tissa area of Churah in Chamba bearing the name of Rana Tralokyadeva contemporary of

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		Salavahana (c. 1040 A. D.) of Chamba.
	1043 A. D.	Expulsion of Muslim garrison from Kangra fort.
		Vajreshwari Devi temple of Kangra rebuilt.
	c. 1100 A. D.	Foundation of Kutlehr State by Jaspal in Beas Valley—
		Kumarsain by Kirat Chand in Upper Sutlej Valley.
		Nalagarh State by Ajai Chand of Kahlur in Sirsa Valley.
		Construction of Indreshvara temple by Raja Indreshvara of Kangra.
Hoyasla Dynasty.	1100-1310 A. D.	
	-1170 A. D.	Foundation of Jaswan State by Parab Chand, younger brother of Raja Padam Chand of Kangra.
Fall of Prithvi Raj Chauhan.	1192 A. D.	
	1195 A. D.	Destruction of Sirmuri-Tal, the ancient capital of Sirmur by a heavy flood in Giri river and end of ancient dynasty.
		Capture of Sirmur by Sobha son of Jaisalmere and foundation of new Bhatti dynasty in Sirmur.
	c. 1200 A. D.	Foundation of Jubbal principality by Karan Chand, Sari by Mool Chand and Rawin by Duni Chand, sons of Raja Ugar Chand the last ruler of ancient dynasty of Sirmur.
		Foundation of Bangahal principality in Beas Valley.
	1204 A. D.	Construction of Vaidyanath temple by two merchant brothers—Manyuka and Ahuka at Kiragram (Baijnath) Kangra.
Slave dynasty of Delhi.	1206-1290 A. D.	
	1211 A. D.	Foundation of Suket principality

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		by Vir Sen and Keonthal by Giri Sen in Mid Giri river Valley.
Narasimha Deva of the Ganga dynasty builds Surya Deol (Sun temple) of Konark, Orissa.	1230-1264 A. D.	
Khilji dynasty	1290-1320 A. D.	
	c. 1346 A. D.	Foundation of Mandi State in Mid Beas Valley and construction of Prashar temple on a 8000 feet high hill by Ban Sen.
Tughluq dynasty	1320-1413 A. D.	
	1337 A. D.	Muhammad-bin Tughluq's expedition to Kangra. Plunder and destruction of Vajreshwari temple.
	c. 1400 A. D.	Panchavaktra temple on the confluence of Suketi and Beas river in Mandi.
	c. 1405 A. D.	Foundation of Guler State by Hari Chand Katoch.
	1421-1436	Raja Vikram Chand of Hindur and foundation of Nalagarh town.
		Raja Urdham Pal's inscription in Hidimba Devi temple Manali, Kulu.
	1428 A. D.	Raja Urdham Pal of Kulu builds Sandhya Devi temple at Jagat Sukh.
	1440 A. D.	Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra rebuilds Vajreshwari temple of Bhawana, Kangra.
	1450 A. D.	Foundation of Siba State by Sibran Chand of Guler principality.
	1466 A. D.	Inscribed metal statue of Adinath in Kangra fort.
Guru Nank	1469-1534 A. D.	Guru Nank visits Kangra.
	c. 1500 A. D.	Inscribed metal statue of Vishnu at Sajla in Kothi Barsai, Kulu.
		Foundation of Tharoch State by

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		Kishan Singh, a descendant of Devkaran of Udaipur Mewar.
	1520 A. D.	Construction of Trilokinath temple, by Sultan Devi queen of Raja Ajbar Sen of Mandi.
First battle of Panipat. Foundation of Mughal Empire	1526 A. D.	Erection of Bhutnath temple by Raja Ajbar Sen in Mandi.
	1550 A. D.	Foundation of Datarpur State by Datar Chand, a scion of Siba State.
	1553 A. D.	Construction of Hindimba Devi temple by Raja Bahadur Singh in Doongri, Manali.
Second Battle of Panipat	1556 A. D.	
Akbar, Emperor of Delhi	1556-1606 A. D.	Raja Jai Chand (1570 A. D.) and Raja Bidhi Chand (1585) revolt against Akbar in 1588-89 and 1594-95 A. D.
	1559 A. D.	Cult of Krishana in the form of Gopal Bansidhar.
		Bansi Gopal temple of Chamba.
	1580-1613 A. D.	Raja Basu of Nurpur builds Nurpur fort and Brijraj temple.
	1600 A. D.	Ardhnareshwar temple, Mandi.
Jahangir	1605-1627 A. D.	
	1620 A. D.	Jahangir's expedition to Kangra and capture of fort.
	1621 A. D.	Foundation of Nahan town by Raja Karam Prakash of Sirmur.
	c. 1625 A. D.	Pahari school of paintings.
Shah Jahan (d. 1666 A.D.)	1627-1658 A. D.	Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur revolts (1640-41) against Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan.
	1643 A. D.	Foundation of Arki town by Raja Sobha Chand of Baghal.
	1650 A. D.	Early phase of Nurpur painting.
	1654 A. D.	Bilaspur town becomes the capital of Kahlur state.
Aurangzeb.	1658-1707 A. D.	Migration of Mughal court artists to the courts of the Hill state

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		princes.
Guru Govind Singh	1666-1708 A. D.	Guru Govind Singh in Poanta, Sirmur (1684-88), Mandi 1701 A D.
	1672-1688 A. D.	Raja Bidhi Singh of Kulu receives Lahaul from Mughal Emperor. Raja Kirpal Singh of Basohli and his court painter Deva Dass.
	1684-1727 A. D.	Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi builds temples of Jalpa Devi, Sidh Ganpati, Batuk Bhairon, Shambhu Mahadev, Sidh Kali.
	1695-1745 A. D.	Raja Dalip Singh of Guler. Some artists work in his court.
	1721-1748 A. D.	Raja Garur Sen of Suket. Basohli type painting in his court.
	c. 1740	Seo, painter of Pahari paintings.
	1741-1778 A. D.	Raja Devi Chand of Kahlur maintains skilled artists at his court.
	1745-1773 A. D.	Raja Goverdhan Chand of Guler.
	1748-1764 A. D.	Raja Umed Singh, Chamba.
	1750-1775 A. D.	Kishan Chand, a Bilaspur painter.
	1751-1774 A. D.	Raja Ghumand Chand of Kangra.
	1754 A. D.	Devikothi temple, Chamba.
	1764-1794 A. D.	Raja Raj Singh of Chamba. Maintains an atelier of artists.
	1768-1806 A. D.	Bhagwan, a court painter of Raja Pritam Singh of Kulu.
	1773-1790 A. D.	Raja Prakash Chand of Guler and painter Gursahai.
	1775-1823 A. D.	Maharaja Sansar Chand of Kangra maintains a large artelier of artists in his court. Famous painters of his court-Fattu, Padma Purkhu. Sansar Chand's Rani Sukeit builds Narbdeshwar temple at Sujanpur Tira. Famous for fresco paintings.
	1776-1820 A. D.	Raja Jagat Singh of Baghal. Kangra style painting in Arki.
Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab	1780-1839 A. D.	

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	1791-1828 A. D.	Raja Vikram Sen of Suket. Kangra style painting at Sundernagar.
	1800 A. D.	Sajnu, a Guler painter Sajnu (another painter), a court painter of Maharaja Sansar Chand migrates to Mandi in 1808 A. D. and paints Hamira-Hath Scenes for Raja Ishwari Sen (1788-1826 A.D.) at Mandi in 1808-1810 A.D.
	1803-1815 A. D.	Gurkha occupation of Western Himalaya.
	1815 A. D.	Gurkha expulsion from the Hills by the Britishers and extension of British authority over the Hill States.
	1825 A. D.	Wasawa Singh Sindhuwalia builds Poanta Sahib Gurudwara on the left bank of Yamuna in Sirmur.
	1828 A. D.	End of Kangra Kingdom.
	1850 A. D.	Raja Kishan Singh of Baghat Diwan Khana Murals of Arki Durga Chand paints Chamba Rang Mahal Murals (Now in National Museum Delhi and Himachal State Museum Simla). Hastu, a Kangra painter. Fakir Ali, a Muslim painter of Mandi.
First war of independence	1857 A. D.	
Foundation of Arya Samaj by Dayanand	1875 A. D.	
Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi	1869-1948 A. D.	
Independence of India	1947 A. D.	
	15.4.1948	Integration of Simla Hills and Punjab Hill States and formation of Himachal Pradesh.

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LIST OF TEMPLES

There are about two thousand and five hundred hill temples in Himachal Pradesh and only those which are notable for their architectural beauty and style have been enumerated here.

INDIGENOUS TEMPLES

Name of temple and location	Presiding image	Style of Architecture and other particulars
	CHAMBA REGION	
Brahmani Devi temple. Near Brahmaur proper Chamba District.	Metal image	Hill architecture, sloping roof
Chamunda (Chaund) temple. Near Shah Madar hill, Chamba town.	Metal mask	Sloping roof.
Chamunda temple. V. Devi Kothi, Teh. Churah, Chamba District.	Inscribed metal image of Kali	Sloping roof. Built by Raja Umed Singh of Chamba in 1754 A.D. Wood carving. There are several Chamunda temple throughout Chamba District.
Chandra-Sekh (Chandrashakhara) temple. V. Saho, Chamba.	Linga	Originally a Shikhara temple but roofed with slates in later period. Built by Satyaki, a local Chieftain in early 10th century.
Det Nag temple. V. Kilar, Teh. Pangi, Chamba District.		Sloping roof. There are several Nag temples in Chamba District.
Devi Dehra temple. V. Bathri, between Chamba and Banikhet.		
Ganesh temple. V. Brahmaur, Teh. Brahmaur, Chamba	85 cms high metal image of	Sloping roof.

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District.	Ganesha, c. 680-700 A.D.	
Hidimba temple. V. Mehla, Teh. Chamba.		Built by Batlu, a nurse of Raja Prithvi Singh (1641-64 A.D.) of Chamba.
Jawala Mukhi temple. V. Sanch, Teh. Chamba.		There are many temples dedicated to Jawalamukhi.
Kali temple. V. Sara, Teh. Chamba.		There are many temple dedicated to goddess Kali in Chamba District.
Khaji Nag. Khajiar, between Chamba Dalhousie.		Sloping roof.
Lakshana Devi, V. Brahmaur, Teh. Brahmaur, Chamba.	1.25 metre high metal image of Mahishasura-mardani. c. 680-700 A.D.	Sloping roof. Originally built by Raja Meru Verman (c. 680-700 A.D.) of Chamba. Famous for old wood carvings.
Mirkula Devi temple. V. Mirkula (also known as Udaipur), Chamba-Lahaul.	Silver image of Durga-Mahish-suramardani. Lahaulis call Vajravarahi.	Sloping roof. Originally built by a Trigarta princess Suryamati who was married to Ananta Deva (1028-63) of Kashmir.
Mindhal Devi (Mindhal Vasani) temple. V. Mindhal, Teh. Pangi Chamba.	Black stone image of Chamunda.	Sloping roof. Profusely carved. There are several temples dedicated to goddesses under different names.
Shakti Devi temple. V. Chatrarhi, Teh. Chamba.	1.58 metre high metal image of Shakti Devi.	Built by Meru Varman (c. 680-700). Wall painting.
Shiva temple. V. Harsar, Teh. Brahmaur, Chamba.	Metal bust of Shiva.	There are several temples dedicated to Shiva under different names.
KULU REGION		
Adi-Brahma. V. Khokhan, Teh. Kulu.	Inscribed metal mask dated 1753 A.D.	Pagoda style. Four tier roof. Built by Raja Tedhi Singh in 1753 A D.
Ambika Devi temple.	77 cms. high brass	Pent roof. There are innu-

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V. Nirmand, Outer Saraj, Kulu.	idol of Durga.	merable temples dedicated to goddesses under different names.
Bail temple. V. Bail, Outer Saraj, On the right bank of Sutlej.		Pargda style. Three tier roof.
Baina Mahadev. V. Baina, on the confluence of Ani and Sutlej.	Linga.	Pent roof with a round Pagoda.
Bala Durga temple. V. Balagad, Teh. Banjar, Kulu.		Pent roof.
Bari Devi temple. V. Kothi Dhaul, Sub-Teh. Nirmand, Kulu.	60 cms. high idol and masks.	Pent roof.
Beri Nag temple. V. Shogi, Beyond Bajaura, Kulu.		Two tier roof Pagoda.
Bhekhali Devi temple. 3 kms. from Kulu town.	Brass image of goddess.	Pent roof. Wall Painting.
Bhaga Sidh temple. V. Pini Khas, Kulu Distt.	Inscribed metal mask dated 1575 A.D.	Built by Raja Parbat Singh in 1575 A.D.
Bhutanti Devi temple. V. Nagar, Kulu.		There are five temples dedicated to Bhutant Devi in different parts of Kulu.
Bhangaumi Devi temple. V. Teenun, Waziri Rupi, Kulu.		Pagoda style.
Bhavneshwari Devi temple. V. Chebasi, 13 kms. east of Dalash, Kulu.	Stone image of Mahishasuramardani.	
Bhugroo Mahadev temple. V. Phati Chenail, Outer Saraj.		Pent roof.
Bijli Mahadev temple. Malthan Dera, $4\frac{1}{2}$ kms. east of Sultanpur, Kulu.	Linga.	Pent roof.
Burah Mahadev temple. V. Nither, Teh. Nirmand, Kulu.	Linga.	Pent roof. There are several temples dedicated to Shiva under different names.
Chambha Deota temple. V. Kasholi, Teh. Nirmand, Kulu.	Linga and masks.	Very good woodcarvings.

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Chamunda Devi temple. V. Nirmand, Kulu.	Stone image of Mahishasura-mardani.	Pent roof,
Chirmal temple. V. Nagan, Kot Kandi, Kulu.	Inscribed metal mask.	Built by Raja Pirthi Singh (1608-1638 A.D.) of Kulu.
Chungarsa Devi temple. V. Chung, 20 kms. east of Sultan-pur, Lower Beas Valley.		Pent roof. Four storeys high.
Dakshnashwar Mahadev temple. V. Nirman, Outer Saraj, Kulu.	Wooden Ling, and 1.42 metre high stone image.	Three tier roof Pagoda. Very good carving on the door frames. Plinths 7th century A.D.
Dhaneshwari Devi temple. V. Nithar Dhanah, Outer Saraj, Kulu.	Stone idol of Mahishasura-mardani.	Pent roof with a small Pagoda.
Gara Durga temple. V. Goshaini, Northwest of Banjar, on the bank of Tirthan river in Inner Saraj.	1 metre high stone image of eight armed Mahisha-suramardani Durga.	Chalet type with a small pagoda roof.
Goshal Nag temple. V. Goshal.	Stone linga.	Chalet type good wood-carving.
Gumal Nag temple. V. Shat Chung.	Inscribed metal mask.	Sloping roof. Built during the period of Raja Prithvi Singh (1608-35 A.D.) of Kulu.
Hardasa temple. V. Manikaran, Kulu.	Inscribed metal mask.	Built during the reign of Raja Bikram Singh (1802-07 A.D.).
Harisingh temple. V. Haripur, 4½ kms. from Nagar, Kulu.	Image of Harisingh.	Pent roof. (c. 1651 A.D.).
Hidimba Devi (Hirma) temple. V. Dhoongri, Manali, Kulu.	Stone image.	Pagoda, four tier roof. Built by Raja Bahadur Singh in 1553 A.D.
Kalshan Devi temple. V. Mushara, Near Nagar, Kulu.		Pagoda. Lower roof square and upper two round.
Kapil Muni temple. V. Bashona, Kat Khandi. V. Kalat, near Manali, Kulu.	Inscribed metal mask.	Pent roof. Built by Raja Man Singh (1712-17 A.D.).
Karttikeya Swami temple.	Bas-relief represen-	

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V. Sinnsa, 3 kms. to the south of Manali.	ting deity.	
Kulchheter Mahadev temple.		10 temples.
V. Alwa, Saraj.		
Kutli Dev temple.	Inscribed metal	Raja Raj Singh (1729 A.D.).
V. Soil Barsai.	mask.	
Lakshmi Narain temple.	Stone image of	c. 10th century.
V. Nirmand, Outer Saraj, Kulu.	Vishnu. There are five more images.	
Lakshmi Narain temple.		Ascribed to Ganesh Pal (8th c.) of Kulu.
V. Railon in Outer Sarja, Kulu.		
Ishwar Mahadev temple.	Linga.	Pent roof.
V. Shangri, Outer Saraj.		
Jagannathi Devi temple.		Built by Raja Raj Singh in 1728 A.D.
V. Jagat Sukh, Kulu.		
Jagesar Mahadev temple.		
V. Dalash, Teh. Ani, Kulu.		
Jamdaggan Rishi temple.		
V. Galun Dera,		
V. Kalwari, Teh. Banjar, Kulu.		
Jamlu Deota temple.		Pent roof. There are 25 temples of Jamlu Deota in Kulu valley.
V. Malana, Kulu.		
Jawalu Mahadev temple.	Inscribed metal mask.	Pent roof. Raja Man Singh (1712-17 A.D.) of Kulu.
V. Jawani Kais, Kulu.		
Jhiri Devi temple.		Pent roof.
Near Nagar, Kulu.		
Manu Rishi temple.	Stone image of Vishnu riding on Garuda.	Pent roof.
Nearly 3 kms. from Manali Kulu.		
Manu Rishi temple.	Linga.	Pagoda, five tier roof.
V. Shainshar, Teh. Banjar, Kulu.		
Markandaya Rishi temple.	Linga.	Pent roof.
V. Manglaur, Saraj, Kulu.		
Murlidhar temple.	Black stone image of Krishna.	Pent roof. 7 storeys high temple. Built in Raja Bidhi Singh's (1674-75 A.D.) time. Inscription on the wall of the temple.
V. Cheni, 4½ kms. from Banjar, Kulu.		

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Narain temple. V. Chhama Kais, Kulu.	Inscribed metal mask.	Raja Bidhi Singh 1668 A.D. There are innumerable temples dedicated to Narain in Kulu valley.
Parshuram temple. V. Nirmand, Outer Saraj, Kulu.		Pent roof huge building. Possess 7th century copper plate.
Prashar Rishi temple. V. Kamand, 14 kms. from Kulu town.		Three tier Pagoda.
Prini Devi temple. V. Jagat Sukh, Kulu.		Pent roof.
Ram Chander temple. V. Manikaran.	Silver image of Standing Rama and Sita.	Chalet type with pent roof. Inscription in the temple.
V. Vashisht, Kulu.		
Shiva temple. V. Sajala, 7 kms. to the north of Nagar, Kulu.	Stone image of Shiva and Parvati.	Pent roof. Ascribed to be built by Raja Sidh Pal Singh c. 1500 A.D.
Shiva temple. At Shirkoti, V. Nirmand, Outer Saraj, Kulu.	Linga and many stone sculptures including one of Surya.	Pent roof. c. 9th-10th century.
Shiva temple. V. Sarsai, Kulu.		Chalet type.
Shringi Rishi temple. V. Plach, above the Tirthan stream, Inner Sarja, Kulu.		Pagoda, three tier roof.
Sita Ram temple. Dhalpur, Lower Beas Valley, Kulu.		Pagoda, two tier roof.
Tirpura Sundri Devi temple. V. Nagar, Kulu.	Stone Linga representing goddess.	Pagoda, three tier roof.
Triyaginarain temple. V. Diyar, 12 kms. east of Bajaura, Kulu.	Stone image of Vishnu.	Pagoda, three tier roof.
Virnath temple. V. Hurla, on the left bank of the Beas, below Diyar, Kulu.		Pagoda, three tier roof.
Vishnu temple.	Metal mask of	Pent roof.

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V. Sajala, 7 kms. to the north of Nagar, Kulu.	Vishnu, bearing the name of Sidh Pal with date 76= (1500 A.D.).	

MANDI REGION

Adi-Purakh temple. V. Tihri, 3 kms from Dulchi Pass, Mandi District.	Dedicated to Brahma.	Pent roof.
Brahma temple. Dhiri, between Dulchi Pass and Prashar.		Pagoda, three tier roof.
Gauri-Shankar temple. (Mamel Mahadev). V. Mamel, Teh. Karsog, Mandi.	Inscribed bronze image of Shiva & Parvati.	Pagoda style c. 9th century A.D.
Kamakhashaya Devi temple. V. Kao, Teh. Karsog, Mandi.	Mask of Durga.	Pagoda. c. 10th-11th century A.D.
Kamru Nag temple. V. Kamrah, Teh. Chachoit, Mandi.	Mask.	Pagoda style.
Magroo Mahadev temple. V. Chhatri, Teh. Chachoit, Mandi.	Mask.	Pent roof. Woodcarving depicting scenes from Ramayana and Mahabharta.
Mahnu Nag temple. V. Mahun, Teh. Karsog, Mandi.	Mask.	Pent roof. There are many temples dedicated to Nag throughout Mandi District.
Narain temple. V. Hurang, near Bhabu Pass, Teh. Joginder Nagar, Mandi.		Pent roof. Naga carving on the walls.
Prashar Rishi temple. 30 km. from Mandi town.	Mask.	Pagoda. Three tier roof. Built by Raja Ban Sen (d. 1346 A.D.) of Mandi dynasty.
Sari temple. V. Sari, Teh. Karsog, Mandi.		Pagoda.

SIMLA REGION

Adi-Shakti. V. Kacheri, Teh. Kumarsain, Simla.	Metal mask.	Pent roof.

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Ashat-Bhuja temple. V. Dharoch, near Phagu, Teh. Theog, Simla.	Metal Mask.	Pent roof.
Baindra Deota temple. V. Bachhonchh, Teh. Rohru, Simla.	Inscribed mask.	Pent roof. There are many temples dedicated to this deity in different parts of Simla hills.
Banar Deota temple. V. Thana, Teh. Jubbal, Simla.	Masks.	Pagoda. Four tier roof. There is another temple at V. Shari near Jubbal town.
Banthia Deota temple. V. Janog, Teh. Theog, Simla.		Pent roof. Very good wood-carving on the ceiling.
Bashehru Deota temple. Near V. Pashada, Teh. Rampur, Simla.	Metal mask.	Pagoda. Fine wood carving.
Bhima Kali temple. V. Sarahan, Teh. Rampur, Simla.	Metal mask. 2 large metal images of Kali.	Sloping roof with a small pagoda. Very ancient temple.
Bijat (Bijleshwar Mahadev) temple. V. Sarahan, Teh. Chopal, Simla.	Metal image and masks.	Two very high temples with pent roofs.
Chattermukh temples. V. Melan, Teh. Kumarsain, Simla.		Pent roof.
Chambi Devi temple. V. Breon, Teh. Kotkhai, Simla.		Pent roof.
Chhatrashwari Devi temple. V. Nirath, Teh. Rampur, Simla.	Four armed stone image of Durga.	Pent roof. Woodcarving on the Mandapa door depicting Rama, Lakshmana and Hanumana and Shiva and Parvati on Nandi, carving on the Garvagriha door depicts four armed goddess riding lion. Door frame depicts Mithuna scenes.
Delain Devi temple. V. Delain, near Phagu, Teh. Theog, Simla.		Pent roof.
Dhaneshwar Mahadev	Metal image of	Pent roof.

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(also called Khepu deota) temple. V. Khepu, Kotgarh, Simla.	Mahadev.	
Dhanu Deota temple. V. Bihar, 7 kms. from Simla town.		A set of three temples with pent roof and a small pagoda on it. Early 19th century.
Dum Deota temple. V. Dalan, Kotgarh. V. Gathan, Teh. Theog, Simla.		Pent roof. Very good wood-carving. There are several temples dedicated to Dum Deota in Simla Hills.
Dundi Devi temple. V. Dhabas, Teh. Chopal, Simla.	Mask.	Sphirical roof. Very important archaeological site.
Durga temple. V. Jhina, Teh. Chopal, Simla.		There are several temple throughout the region dedicated to Durga.
Goli Nag temple. V. Pujarli, Teh. Rohru, Simla.		Pent roof.
Hatkoti Durga (Hateshwari) temple. V. Hatkoti, Teh. Jubbal, Simla.	Eight armed brass idol of Mahisha-suramardani nearly 3 metres high with c. 7th century inscription.	Pyramidal roof. Foundation c. 7-8th century A.D.
Jakh Deota temple. V. Gagiani, Teh. Rohru, Simla.		Pent roof.
Kali temple. V. Naho (Ruslah), Teh. Chopal, Simla.		Pagoda style.
Kenara Deota temple. V. Pujarli, Pargna Shak, Teh. Chopal, Simla.	Linga.	Inner structure shikhara, outer hill style with pent roof.
Kharan Deota temple. V. Kharan, Teh. Rampur, Simla.	Mask.	Very beautiful pagoda.
Khadhasan Devi temple. V. Deothi (Balsan), Teh. Theog, Simla.		Pent roof.
Kiari Durga temple. V. Kiari, Teh. Kotkhai, Simla.		Pent roof.

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Kot Ishwar Mahadev temple. V. Kot, Teh. Kumarsain, Simla.	Stone image.	Pagoda. Two lower roofs square and upper round and conical.
Kot Ishwar Mahadev temple. V. Madholi, Teh. Kumarsain, Simla.	Silver and gold masks.	Pent roof.
Magneshwar (Mananesbwar) temple. V. Manan, 3 kms. from Shilaro farm, Teh. Theog, Simla.		Pent roof with a small pagoda.
Mahasu (Mahashiva) temple. Jubbal town, Simla.		Pyramidal style roof. The other temples of this style are at Anu and Chamaru villages in Jubbal Tehsil. Pent roof with a small pagoda temple is in village Balsa of Rohru Tehsil. There are innumerable temples dedicated to Mahasu Deota scattered throughout the region. These have sloping roof. the important in this style is at Gijari, Teh. Theog.
Mahishwar (Maheshwar) temple. V. Mushrahna, Teh. Chopal, Simla.	Metal mask.	Pent roof.
Mansa Devi temple. V. Ghorna (Balsan), Teh. Theog, Simla.	Mask.	Pent roof.
Nag Deota temple. V. Chadera, Teh. Theog, Simla.		Pent roof. Several storeys high. There are several temples with pent roof dedicated to Nag throughout the region. These temples are two storeys to seven storeys high. Nag temple at V. Pekha has a small pagoda over the pent roof.
Narain Deota temple. V. Jabal, Teh. Rohru, Simla.		Pent roof.

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Pahasi Deota temple. V. Rohal, Teh. Rohru, Simla.		Pent roof.
Panch Nag temple. V. Janglik, Teh. Rohru, Simla.		Pent roof.
Pandev temple. V. Masli, Teh. Rohru, Simla.	Stone image.	Pent roof. Several storeys high.
Parshu Ram Deota temple. V. Dansa, Teh. Rampur, Simla.		There are many temples dedicated to Parshu Ram Deota.
Piri Devi temple. V. Purana Jubbal, Teh. Jubbal, Simla.		Pent roof. Several storeys high.
Raloo-mool Devi temple. V. Kadharan (Balson), Teh. Theog, Simla.	Bronze image of Durga.	Pagoda. Two tier roof.
Rathi ka Banar temple. V. Barhal, Teh. Jubbal, Simla.	Masks.	Pent roof.
Ravatan Devi temple. V. Ravatan, Teh. Kotkhai, Simla.		Pagoda.
Rawandu Deota temple. V. Devidhar, Teh. Rohru, Simla.		Pent roof.
Shari Devi temple. V. Shari, near Matiana, Teh. Theog, Simla.		Pent roof.
Shikru Deota temple. Rohru town, Simla.		Two temples in Pagoda style. One is very old. Very fine wood carving.
Sholi Deota temple. V. Sholi, Teh. Rampur, Simla.	Stone linga and metal masks.	Palatial pagoda type complex. There are ruins of several shikhra temples in and around the temple complex.
Shirgul Deota temple. V. Jorna, Teh. Chopal, Simla.	Metal mask.	Two very high pent roof temples. There are several temples dedicated to Shirgul Deota scattered throughout the region. The important are at Chopal and Kulag.

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Shiva temple. V. Hatkoti, Teh. Jubbal, Simla.	Linga and stone sculptures.	Pyramidal style roof. Main structure belongs to 7th-8th century A.D.
Shiva temple. Jubbal town, Simla.	Linga.	Pyramidal style roof. Built by Rana Padam Chand in 1895 A.D. There are many temples dedicated to Shiva.
Shiva temple. V. Kadharan, Teh. Theog, Simla.	Linga and stone sculpture.	Pent roof.
Tiali Devi temple. V. Tiali, near Ratesh, Teh. Theog, Simla.		Pent roof.

KINNAUR REGION

Badrinath temple. V. Kamru, Teh. Sangla, Kinnaur.		Pent roof with a small pagoda.
Badri Narain temple. V. Barsering (Barseri), Teh. Sangla, Kinnaur.		Pent roof.
Baring Nag temple. V. Sangla, Teh. Sangla, Kinnaur.		Three storeys high with pagoda roof.
Bhagwati temple. V. Rakcham, Teh. Sangla, Kinnaur.		Pagoda. Excellent woodcarving.
Chandika Devi temple. V. Kothi, Teh. Kalpa, Kinnaur.	Gold and silver masks of Durga.	Pent roof. There is a Bhandar (temple treasury) with pent roof and a small pagoda over it.
Chandika Devi temple. V. Ropa, Teh. Poo, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pent roof.
Chakoling-Dambar temple. V. Labrang, Teh. Poo, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pagoda. Good woodcarving.
Chitra Rekha Devi temple. V. Tranda, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pent roof.

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Dabla Deota temple. V. Kanam, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pagoda. Famous for wood-carving.
Gandarpas Deota temple. V. Jani, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pent roof.
Hirma Devi temple. V. Chora, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pent roof.
Kasuras Deota temple. V. Ribba, Teh. Morang, Kinnaur.		Pent roof. Very beautiful temple.
Mahasu temple. V. Telingi, Teh. Kalpa, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pagoda style.
Maheshwara temple. V. Chagaon, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pagoda.
Maheshwara temple. V. Katgaon, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pent roof with a small pagoda. Fine wood carving.
Maheshwara temple. V. Sungra, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pagoda. Another temple of Maheshwara is in village Mahbar of Tehsil Kalpa.
Markaling Devi temple. V. Khwangi, Teh. Kalpa, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Chalet type with pent roof.
Mathi Devi temple. V. Chitkul, Teh. Sangla, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Three temples. Fine wood carving.
Nag Deota temple. V. Nathpa, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.		Pent roof. There are several temples dedicated to Nag.
Nages (Narain Chorni) temple. V. Miru, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pent roof. Another temple of Nages Deota is in village Sapni, Teh. Sangla, Kinnaur.
Nagin temple. V. Bara Khamba and Chhota Khamba, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.		Pent roof temples.
Narenas Deota temple. V. Urni, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Very high temple with gabbled roof. Hunting scene woodcarving. There are more temples dedicated to

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		this deity in Kinnaur area. Some are at Chini, Chasang, and Yula Villages.
Narenesrogi (Rugshu) temple. V. Rogi, Teh. Kalpa, Kinnaur.		Pagoda. Good wood carving.
Ormig Deota temple. V. Morang, Teh. Morang, Kinnaur.		Pent roof. Very good temple with wood carving.
Panwi Kuldev temple. V. Panwi, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.		Pent roof.
Shanshra (Shamshar) Deota temple. V. Rakchham, Teh. Sangla, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pagoda. Rich wood carving.
Shashering Deota temple. V. Pangi, Teh. Kalpa, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	Pent roof.
Ukha Devi temple. V. Nichar, Teh. Nichar, Kinnaur.	Metal mask.	There are two temples. One is in pagoda style, the upper roof of which is round. Another temple of Ukha Devi is at Bara Khamba village.

SIRMAUR REGION

Bijai Devi temple. V. Batrol, Teh. Rainka, District Sirmur.	Brass image.	Pent roof. Seven storeys high temple.
Bijat temple. V. Deona, Teh. Rainka, Sirmur.	Stone and brass images of Bijat.	
Bijat temple. V. Bandal, Teh. Rainka, Sirmur.	Brass idol. There are 52 brass idols of Bijat in the temple.	Pent roof. Two temples several storeys high.
Bijat temple. V. Manal, Teh. Rainka, Sirmur.	Brass image.	Pent roof. Two storeys high temple. There are several

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Ghatriali Devi temple. V. Panjahan, Teh. Rainka, Distt. Sirmur.		temples dedicated to Bijat. Pent roof. Several storeys high.
Mahasu temple. V. Sion, Teh. Rainka, Sirmur.	Large brass image	Pent roof. Two storeys high temple.
Parasram temple. V. Jamba, Teh. Rainka, Sirmur.	Brass images of Parasram.	Pent roof. Three storeys high temple.
Shirgul Deota temple. V. Manal, Teh. Rainka, Sirmur.	12 brass images of Shirgul.	Pent roof. Three storeys high temple. The other temples of Shirgul are in villagess. Deona, Bandal and Jamna.

INDO-ARYAN TEMPLES

Name of temple and location	Presiding image	Style of Architecture and other particulars.
CHAMBA REGION		
Bansi-Gopal temple. Chamba town.	Black stone image of Krishna.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Balabhadara in 1595 A. D.
Champavati (also known as Chamasni) temple. Chamba town.	Black stone image of six armed Mahishasuramardani.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Sahila Verman (c. 920-940 A D.).
Chandragupta temple. Chamba town.	Linga.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Sahila Verman (c. 920-940 A.D.).
Gauri-Shanker temple. Chamba town.	Brass image of four armed Shiva, Parvati and Nandi.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Yogakara Verman (c. 940 A D).
Hari-Har Rai temple. Chamba town.	Three-quarters of life size bronze image of	Shikhara style with Mandapa. Profusely decorated with carving.

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	Vishnu Chaturmurti.	Built by Salakora Varman in c. 11th century A.D.
Jalpa Devi temple. V. Batalwan, Teh. Chamba.		Shikhara with new Mandapa.
Kameshwara temple. Chamba town.	Linga.	Shikhara style. Built by Shila Verman (c. 920-940 A.D.).
Lakshmi-Damodar temple. Chamba town.	Marble image of Vishnu.	Shikhara style. Built by Shila Verman (c. 920-940 A.D.).
Lakshmi-Damodar temple. Chamba town.	White marble image of Lakshmi and Naraian	Shikhara style. Built by Shila Verman (c. 920-940 A.D.).
Mani-Mahesh temple. V. Brahmaur, Teh. Brahmaur.	Linga. Inscribed bronze bull in front of the temple.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Meru Verman (c. 680-700 A.D.).
Nar Singh temple. V. Brahmaur, Teh. Brahmaur.	Inscribed brass image of Narshingh.	Shikhara style. Built by Tribhavan Rekha, queen of Yogakara Varman (c. 940 A.D.).
Narsingh temple. Chamba town.		Shikhara style.
Radha-Krishan temple. Chamba town.	White marble image of Radha Krishna	Shikhara style. Built by Sadha, queen of Raja Jit Singh in 1825 A.D.
Sita Ram temple. Chamba town.	Stone images of Rama, Lakshmana and Sita.	Shikhara style. Built by Batlu, nurse of Raja Prithvi Singh (1641-1664 A.D.).
Trilokinath temple. V. Trilokinath (Chamba Lahaul) Lahaul-Spiti District.	92 cm high marble image of Avalokiteshwara with six arms.	Shikhara style. c. 8th century. Originally a Hindu temple, later transformed into a Buddhist shrine by Padamasambhava at the end of the same century and was built and repaired several times.
Trimukha temple. Chamba town.	Linga.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Sahila Varman (c. 920-940 A.D.).
Udaipur temple. V. Udaipur, near Chamba town.	White marble image of Vishnu.	Shikhara style. Built c. 1720 A. D.

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Vajreshwari (also called Bhagwati Devi) temple. Chamba town.	Fine sculpture.	Shikhara style. 11th century. 3 lines inscription on pillar.

KANGRA REGION

(Kangra, Hamirpur and Una)

Ambika Devi temple. Kangra Fort, Kangra.		Shikhara style with Mandapa.
Ammbikeshwar temple. Haripur town Hamirpur District.		Shikhara style. Profusely decorated with carving. The oldest temple of Haripur.
Asapuri Devi temple. Changer hill, Kangra.		There are four inscriptions in the temple. The earliest inscription records the name of builder as Vijaya Rama son of Raja Chandrabhana.
Baijnath (Vaidyanath) temple. V. Baijnath, Teh. Palampur, Kangra.	Linga.	Shikhara style with Mandapa. Built by a merchant named Manyuka in 1204 A. D. during the reign of Raja Jaya Chandara of Jalandhara-Trigarta. Some fine sculptures including Vishnu and Lakshmi. Two Sharda inscriptions.
Bhagsunath temple. 13 kms. from Dharamsala, Kangra.	Shiva-Bhagveshwara	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Dharam Chand (c. 1528-1563 A. D.).
Bhadrakali temple. On the bank of Sawan Stream, Una.	Image of Kali.	Late Shikhara style.
Bhae Bhunjani Devi temple, near Pathiar, Kangra.		Mixed Hindu-Muslim architecture.
Brij Raj Bihari temple. Nurpur Fort, Kangra.	Black granite image of Krishna	Mixed Hindu style of architecture. The exterior of the basement is profusely decorated with

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		traceries and figures of cows, milkmaids and Krishna. Built by Raja Basu (1580-1613 A.D.) of Nurpur.
Chamunda temple. Tira hill top, Sujanpur, Hamirpur.	Now enshrines Linga. There are images of Shiva, Parvati, Vishnu and Lakshmi also.	Flat roof. Built by Raja Ghamand Chand (1751-1774 A. D.) of Kangra.
Chamunda temple. On the right bank of Baner stream, 6 kms. from Yor Camp and 15 kms from Dharamsala, Kangra.	Metal image.	Shikhara style. Complex of temples.
Chintpurni temple. 3. kms. from Bharwan, Hoshiarpur-Dharamsala road, on a ridge of Solashinghi range, Una District.	Linga	Shikhara style.
Dal Durveshwar temple. On Dal lake bank, Dharamsala, Kangra.		
Damtal Narayan temple. V. Damtal, Teh. Nurpur Kangra.	Vishnu image.	Flat roof. Famous for frescoe paintings. In Damtal there are several temples. Built by Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur in 1646 A. D.
Garbi Devi temple. Near Pathiar Fort, Kangra.		
Gaurishanker temple (also known as Sansar Chandeshwar) Sujanpur-Tira, Hamirpur.	Life size silver images of Shiva and Parvati. Metal images of Ganpati and Nandi.	Built by Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823 A.D.) in 1793 A.D. Wall paintings.
Ghanjar Mahadev temple. On the bank of Manum Stream, Kangra.		Shikhara style.
Gasain Shivalaya temple. Nadaun, Hamirpur.		Hindu Muslim style of Architecture.

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Indrashwara temple. Kangra town.	Linga.	Shikhara style with Mandapa. Built in the early 11th century A. D. by Indra Chandra of Jalandhara Trigarata, contemporary of Ananta Deva (1028-1063 A.D.) of Kashmir.
Jain temple. Kangra Fort, Kangra.	Inscribed metal image of Adinath bearing date 1466 A.D.	Shikhara style. Built during the reign of Raja Sansar Chand I (1430-1450 A.D.). There are two Jain temples. One temple houses the bronze statue of Adinath.
Jai Ambika temple. 10 kms. from Bharwana, Teh. Palampur, Kangra.		
Jankinath temple. V. Bijapur, Kangra.		
Jawalamukhi temple. V. Jawalamukhi, 54 kms. from Dharamsala, Kangra.	No image	The building is modern, with a gilt dome and pinnacles, and possesses a beautiful folding door of silver plates, presented by the Sikh Raja Kharak Singh. The gilt roof was presented by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab in 1815 A.D. Jawalamukhi is the most sacred and the most popular pilgrims centre in Himachal Pradesh.
Jayanti Devi temple. On a hill top, Opposite Kangra Fort.	Metal image of Durga.	
Kaleshwar Mahadev temple. V. Kalesar, 11 kms from Jawalamukhi, Kangra.		Dressed stone temple.
Krishna temple. V. Dada Siba, District Una.		Built by Raja Ram Singh of Siba in 1865 A.D. Fresco paintings.
Krishna temple.		Shikhara style. Contains pain-

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V. Nadaun, Hamirpur		tings.
Kunal Pathri temple. 4 kms. from Dharamsala.		Rock temple.
Lakshmi Narain temple Complex. 15 kms from Jawalamukhi.		
Lakshmi-Narain temple Kangra Fort.		Shikhara style with Mandapa.
Lakshmi-Narain temple Alampur, Teh. Palamapur, Kangra.	Vishnu and Lakshmi image. In the court-yard stands a large image of Garuda.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Abhai Chand (1697-1700 A.D.).
Mahadev temple. 9 kms. from Hamirpur.		
Masrur temples complex (also known as Thakurdwara). 13 kms. from Haripur, Kangra.	Three stone images of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana.	Shikhara style. 8th century rock-cut temple. Originally a Shivait temple. Later turned to Vaishnvait temple.
Murli-Manohar temple. Sujanpur-Tira, Hamirpur.	Life size silver Statue of Radha and Krishna	Shikhara with Mandapa. Built by Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823 A.D.). in 1790 A.D. Paintings on the Walls.
Nandikeshwar temple. V. Jadrangal Opp. Dadh, Kangra.	Brass image. Bronze Garuda in front of the temple.	Shikhara. Started by Raja Ghamand Chand in 1774 A.D. and completed by Sansar Chand in 1785 A.D.
Narbadeshwar temple. Sujanpur-Tira, Hamirpur.	Linga and marble sculpture of Durga, Ganesh and Kartikaya.	Flat roof temple. Main temple contains paintings on walls and ceiling. Built by Prassani Devi (also called Suketi Rani) queen of Raja Sansar Chand in 1823 A.D.
Shiva temple Baroh, 15 kms. from Kangra.		
Shiva temple Nadaun, Hamirpur.		At Nadaun there are five temples.
Sidhnath temple. V. Baijnath, Kangra.	Linga in the Sanctum.	Shikhara style with Mandapa. Inscription in the temple men-

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		tions the names of two brothers Baijnath and Sidhnath.
Sita Ram temple. Sujanpur Tira, Hamirpur.	Marble images of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana.	
Sitla Devi temple. Kangra Fort.		
Thakurdwara temple. V. Fatehpur, Kangra.		Ascribed to Raja Mandhata of Nurpur (1667-1700 A.D.) Famous for fresco paintings.
Vajreshvari Devi temple. Bhawan, near Kangra.	Marble image of goodess.	Shikhara style. c. 8-9th century. Plundered by Mahmud Ghazni in 1000 A.D. Rebuilt in 1043 A.D. In 1337 A.D. plundered by Mohammed Tughlaq. Rebuilt by Raja Sansar Chand I (1440 A.D.). Khamas Khan destroyed temple in 1540 A.D. Restored during the reign of Akbar and he offered golden umbrella to goddess. Sardar Desa Singh Majithia, a Sikh governor rebuilt the temple in Sikh Style. Maharaja Ranjit Singh visited temple twice. Temple destroyed in 1905 earthquake. Rebuilt again in 1920 A.D.

KULU REGION

		Plain stone temple.
Chhaki Sail temple. Nearly 2 kms. north of Nagar, Kulu.		Shikhara. c. 7th century.
Chandi temple. V. Nirmand, Kulu.	Stone image.	
Chattarbhug temple. V. Nagar, Kulu.	Bronze image of Standing Vishnu.	Shikhara style. 9th-10th century A.D.
Gaurishanker temple.	Linga.	Shikhara style c. 9th-10th cen-

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V. Dashal, Nagar-Manali Road, Kulu.		tury A.D.
Gaurishanker temple. Jagatsukh, Kulu.	Linga, Shiva and Parvati stone slab.	Late Gupta style c. 9th-10th century.
Gaurishanker temple V. Nagar, Kulu.	Stone slab with bas-relief representing Shiva, Parvati and Nandi.	Shikhara style. c. 9th-10th century.
Hanuman Shrine. V. Manikaran, Kulu.	Image of Hanuman and Jagat Singh	Shikhara style.
Lakshmi-Narayan temple. V. Sultanpur, Kulu.		Shikhara style.
Lakshmi-Narayan temple. Nagar Castle, Kulu.	Image of Lakshmi-Narayan.	Shikhara style.
Mangalsen temple. V. Manglaur, 40 kms. south of Sultanpur, Kulu.	Stone linga nearby.	Stone temple in the field to N.E. of village. Ascribed to Raja Mangalsen of Mandi.
Murlidhar temple. V. Manikaran, Kulu.	Brass image of Krishna	Shikhara style.
Murlidhar temple (also called Gopal). V. Sarsai, on way to Manali and on the left bank of Beas river.	Bronze image of Krishna.	Plain stone temple. Ascribed to Raja Tedi Singh (1742-1768 A.D.).
Murlidhar temple. V. Thawa, above Nagar, Kulu.	Marble image of Radha Krishna.	Late Gupta style. c. 8th century. The oldest temple.
Ramchandra temple. V. Manikaran, Kulu.	Metal image of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana. In the mandapa there is a heavy image of Vishnu.	Shikhara style. There are other small historical temples in the compound. Built by Raja Jagat Singh in 1650 A.D.
Ramchandra temple. V. Vashisht, Kulu	Standing silver images of Rama, Sita and Lakshamana	Stone temple, built by Raja Jagat Singh in 1651 A.D.
Ramchandra (popularly known as Raghunath) tepmle. V. Sultanpur, Kulu.	Image of Ramchandra.	Shikhara style.

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Sandhya Devi temple. V. Jagatsukh, Kulu.	Bas-relief representing Sandhya Devi and other stone sculptures.	8th century. Temple has an inscription of Raja Urdham Pal bearing date 1428 A.D.
Shamsher Mahadev temple. V. Shamsher, Kulu.	Linga. images of Shiva and Parvati.	Three stone temples. 10 stone sculptures.
Sharvali Devi (according to H. Lee Shuttleworth Savarni Devi). V. Shooru, near Jagatsukh, Kulu.	Stone image.	Historical and old temple.
Shiva temple. V. Nirmand, Outer Saraj, Kulu.	Linga. Sculptures of Durga, Surya and Vishnu	Small shikhara style c. 10th century.
Thakurdwara temple. V. Nirmand, Outer Saraj, Kulu.	Stone Image of Vishnu and Lakshmi on Garuda.	Slate roofed structure raised on classical ground plan with sanctum and mandapa. c 10th century.
Vashisht temple. V. Vashisht, Hot Spring, 3 kms from Manali, Kulu		Shikhara style.
Vishveshwara Mahadev temple. V. Hat-Bajaura, Kulu.	Linga. There are stone sculptures of Vishnu Mahishasuramardani and Ganesha.	Shikhara style. c. 8th century.

MANDI REGION

(Mandi and Bilaspur)

Ardhnareshwar temple. Mandi town, Mandi.	130 cm. high stone image of Shiva-Parvati.	Shikhara style with open Mandapa. Rich carving. c. 17th century. Built by Kalesar Mian of Mandi.
Auhar temple. On the bank of Govindsagar lake, 13 kms. from Bilaspur	Linga.	Domed temple with sanctum and mandapa. Containing painting on the domed ceiling of mandapa.

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town across the lake.		
Bhutnath temple. Mandi town, Mandi.	Black stone linga.	Shikhara style with Mandapa. Built by Raja Ajbar Sen of Mandi in 1526 A.D.
Balaknath temple. Mandi town, Mandi.	Linga.	Shikhara style.
Batak Bhairon temple. Mandi town, Mandi.	Life size stone image of Batak Bhairon in meditation.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727 A.D.) of Mandi.
Bhavneshwari temple. Sari, Mandi town.	Bronze image in Vilasasana posture.	Shikhara style.
Jagannath temple. Paddal, Mandi town.	Standing stone image of Jaganath and small bronze image of Vishnu.	Deformed Shikhara style. c. 1650 A.D. At Purana Nagar near Sundernagar in Mandi there is a temple of Jagannath which has about 50 cm. high image of the deity.
Jalpa Devi temple. (Sidh Jalpa) Paddal, Mandi town.	Stone image of Devi in folkstyle.	Deformed Shikhara style.
Lomash Rishi temple. V. Riwalsar, Teh. Sadar, Mandi.	Stone Linga.	Shikhara style with Mandapa.
Mahadev temple. near Nagar in Bahl valley, Mandi.	Linga of black stone.	Stone structure.
Naina Devi temple, Naina Devi hill, Bilaspur.	Stone image of Kali.	Deformed shikhara. Guru Govind Singh also visited this temple.
Narsingh temple. V. Nagar, near Sundernagar, Mandi.	Image of Narsingh (generally called Pakhan)	Stone temple.
Nawahi Devi temple. 4 kms from Sarkaghat and 30 kms from Mandi town.	Stone image of nine armed Durga.	Shikhara style. Formerly there were nine temples. At present there are three or four temples only, the most important being that of Nawahi Devi, the rest being mostly Shiva temples. The temples are said to have been

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		despoiled by Muhammadans (c. 1600 A.D.).
Panchavaktra temple. On the confluence of Beas and Suketi rivers in Mandi town.	Five faced stone image of Shiva in sitting posture.	Shikhara with Mandapa. 15th century A.D. Inscription on a Mandapa pillar.
Ramchandra temple. (actually a Vishnu temple) Poddal, Mandi town.	Black stone image of four armed Vishnu and Lakshmi. Small bronze images (locally called Thankar).	Deformed Shikhara.
Sahibini-dawala. On the bank of Beas river, Mandi town.	Stone linga with small rudra-lingas.	Shikhara style with Mandapa. This is Panchayatana temple.
Shambhu Mahadev. Paddal, Mandi town.	Stone linga.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727 A.D.).
Sitla temple. Purani Mandi, Opposite Mandi town.	Metal image of Durga about 1 mt. high.	Shikhara.
Shiva temple. V. Chambi, Bahl valley, Mandi	Linga and stone sculptures.	Shikhara
Shyama Kali temple. Tarna hill, Mandi.	Black stone image of Kali.	Deformed Shikhara style. Built by Raja Shayam Sen (1664-1979 A.D.) of Mandi.
Sidh Bhadra temple at Paddal near Beas river, Mandi town.	Black stone image of Kali.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727 A.D.) of Mandi.
Sidh Ganpati temple, near Soorakothi, 3 kms. from Mandi town.	Large stone image of Ganesha	Dome shaped temple. Built by Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727 A.D.).
Sidh Kali temple. Sairi tank, Mandi town.	Kali image in the monolith block in the basement with linga on the top position.	Shikhara style. Built by Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727 A.D.).
Suraj Kund temple. Sundernagar town, Mandi District.	Metal idol of Surya with 4 arms standing on 2 brass horses.	Deformed Shikhara. Built by Ghuru Chand (1725-1728 A.D.).
Trilokinath temple. Purani Mandi, Opposite	Life size stone idol of three-faced Shiva who is	Shikhara style with Mandapa. Built by Sultan Devi, queen of

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Mandi town.	riding on a bull with Parvati in his lap.	Raja Ajbar Sen of Mandi in 1520 A.D.

SIMLA REGION

Ayodhianath temple. Old Palace, Rampur Bashahr town, Simla District.	Brass images of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana.	Shikhara style with Mandapa. Profuse woodcarving on Mandapa ceiling depicting scene from Bhagwata Purana and Ramayana. Built by Raja Kehari Singh of Bashahr in the 17th c.
Badrinath temple. Rampur-Bashahr town, Simla District.	Brass image of Vishnu.	Shikhara style.
Dattatreya temple. V. Dattnagar, near Rampur Bashahr town.	Three copper sheet images	Archaeologically very ancient site.
Giri-Ganga temples complex near Kupar peak, 7 kms from Jubbal town, Simla District.	Marble images of Ganga, Shiva and Kali.	Deformed Shikhara. Built by Rana Karam Chand of Jubbal in 1849 A.D.
Hateshwari (also called Durga) temple. V. Hatkoti, Teh. Jubbal, Simla District.	Nearly 1 metre high brass images of 8 armed Mahishasuramardani fitted in 3 metres high brass structure with 7th century A.D. inscriptions on it.	Originally Shikhara temple. Re-roofed in pyramidal style by Rana Padam Chand of Jubbal. c. 7th-8th century. At present there are 12 shikhara style temples in and around Hatkoti.
Mahavir temple. On the bank of Sutlej Rampur-Bashahr town Simla.	Stone idol.	Shikhara style.
Narsingh temple. Rampur-Bashahr town.	Brass image of Narsingh.	Shikhara with Mandapa. Built by Rani Mandiali of Bashahr.
Raghunath (also called Chhai-Bacha's) temple. Near New Palace,		Shikhara style.

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Rampur-Bashahr town. Rudra temple. V. Balag, on the bank of Giri Ganga river, Teh. Theog, Simla District.		2 Shikhara temples c. 9-10 century A.D.
Satyanaryana temple. Rampur-Bashahr town.	Marble image of Vishnu.	Shikhara temple. Built by Kapur Chand in 1923 A.D.
Shiva Deol temple. V. Hatkoti, Teh. Jubbal, Simla.	Large stone Linga and sculptures of Vishnu, Vishnu and Lakshmi and Lakshmi and Ganesha.	Originally Shikhara temple, but reroofed in pyramidal style. c. 7th-8th century A.D.
Shiva temple. V. Prahat Hatkoti, Teh. Jubbal, Simla	Linga	Shikhara style. c. 8th century. There are two more Shikhara temples nearby.
Shiva temple. V. Dabahs (Dundi-Devi) near Sarahan, Teh. Chopal, Simla District.	Linga.	There are three or four small shikhara style temples. Archaeologically very important Place. c. 8th 9th century.
Shiva temple. Rampur-Bashahr town, Simla.	Stone image of Shiva and Parvati.	Shikhara style.
Surya temple. V. Nirath, near Rampur-Bashahr, Simla District.	Stone idol of Surya.	Shikhara with Mandapa covered with stale roof. c. 8th century. There are several sculptures in the Mandapa.

SIRMUR REGION

Balasundri Devi temple V. Trilokpur, 24 kms. from Nahan town, Sirmur.	Marble stone image of Durga.	Deformed Shikhara with Mandapa. Built by Raja Dip Prakash of Sirmur in 1573 A.D.
Jaganath temple. Nahan town, Sirmur.	Stone image of Vishnu.	Dome style. Built by Raja Mahi Prakash of Sirmur in 1681 A.D. Painting on the wall.
Kalimai temple. Nahan town, Sirmur.	Metal image of Kali. Contains stone images of	Dome roof. Built by Raja Bijie Prakash in 1730 A.D.

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	Manuman, Bharoin and Shitla and others in small shrines.	
Lakshmi-Narain temple. On the hill top, near Nahan town.		Dome roof. Built by Raja Bhup Prakash in 1708 A.D.
Shiva temple. V. Mangarh, Teh. Pachhad, Sirmur.	Linga.	Stone temple. c. 9th, 10th century.
Shiva temple. Pacca tank, Nahan town.	Stone Linga.	Deformed Shikhara. Painting on the wall.
Shiva temple, Ranital, Nahan town, Sirmur.	Stone Linga.	Deformed Shikhara.
Shiva temple. V. Shivpuri, 3 kms from Nahan town, Sirmur.	Stone Linga.	Deformed Shikhara.

BUDDHIST MONASTERIES AND TEMPLES

KINNAUR REGION

Chango Monastery. V. Chango, Teh. Hangrang, Kinnaur.	Tra-shi-tong-yang (Brugpa Sect).	Flat roof. Ascribed to Padamasambhava.
Charang Buddhist temple. Near Charang village, Teh. Morang, Kinnaur.	Rangricho. Hugh Clay image of Buddha. Well painted and decorated.	Flat roof.
Chini Buddhist temple. Near Chini village, Teh. Kalpa, Kinnaur.	Hu-bu-lang. kar.	Sloping roof.
Chuling Buddhist temple. V. Chuling, Teh. Hangrang, Kinnaur.	Rin-chin-po. Brass image of Padamasambhava.	Flat roof.

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Hango Buddhist temple. V. Hango, Teh. Hangrang.	Stucco image of Padamasambhava.	Flat roof.
Jangi Monastery. V. Jangi, Teh. Morang.		Flat roof.
Kanum Monastery. V. Kanum, Teh. Poo, Kinnaur.	Lundup-Gen-fel (Gelukpa sect).	Flat roof. Said to be founded by Rin-Chen-Sang-po-(958-1055 A.D.). There are seven Buddhist temples and Tanjyur-library.
Leo Buddhist temple. V. Leo, Teh. Hangrang.	Bkra-Shis-Lhumgrub (Nyingmpa).	Flat roof. Ascribed to Padamasambhava.
Lippa Buddhist Monastery. V. Lippa, Teh. Morang.	Galdang Chhoikar, Dunguir and Kangyur.	There are three Buddhist temples.
Morang Monastery. V. and Teh. Morang.	La-Nan monastery of Gelukpa Sect.	2 Flat roof buildings. The monastery contains artistic masks.
Nako Buddhist monastery and temples. V. Nako, Teh. Hangrang.	Lotsa-bai-lha-khang and Slab-dpen-Zhabs-rjes temp. (Brugpa Sect).	Flat roof. Said to have been founded by Rin-Chen Sangopo. The buildings are now in dilapidated conditions. There is a small Shrine away from village believed to contain footmarks of Padmasambhava.
Namgya Buddhist temple. V. Namgya, Teh. Poo.	Lagan (Drugpa Sect)	Flat roof.
Pangi Buddhist temple. V. Pangi, Teh. Kalpa.		Gable roof contains wood carving.
Poo Monastery. V. and Teh. Poo.	Lotsa-bai-lha-khang (Drugpa).	Flat roof. Painted doors.
Poorbani Buddhist temple. V. Poorbani, Teh. Kalpa.	Image of Buddha.	Sloping slate roof.
Rarang monastery and temple. V. Rarang, Teh. Morang.		Flat roof. There is also a three-storey chorten.
Riba Buddhist temple. V. Riba, Teh. Morang.	(Gelukpa)	Pent roof.
Rispa Buddhist temple.	(Gelukpa).	Flat roof.

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V. Rispa, Teh. Morang.		
Spilo Buddhist temple. V. Spilo, Teh. Poo.	(Drugpha).	Flat roof. Now in dilapidated conditions.
Sunam Monastery. V. Sunam, Teh. Poo.	(Nyingmpa).	Flat roof.
Tashigang monastery. V. Tassigang, Teh. Hangrang.	Sandal wood image of Buddha (Dugpa Sect).	Ascribed to Locha-Lama.
Thangi monastery. V. Thangi, Teh. Morang.	(Gelukpa Sect)	Flat roof monastery and two pent roof temples.

LAHAUL REGION

Billing Buddhist temple. V. Billing, Lahaul.	(Drugpa Sect).	Flat roof.
Gauzing Buddhist temple. Near Kardang, Lahaul.	(Drugpa Sect).	Flat roof.
Gemur monastery. V. Gemur, 18 kms. from Keylang, Lahaul.	Stucco images of Marichi and Vajravarahi.	c. 11th-12th century A.D.
Gondhla monastery. V. Gondhla, 16 kms. from Keylang, Lahaul.	Lacquerred image of Padmasambhava (Drugpa Sect.)	16th-17th century A.D.
Guru Ghantal, V. Tupchiling, on a hill top near the confluence of Chandra and Bhaga rivers, Lahaul.	Wooden image of Buddha.	Double tier slate roof. Two storey building. Ascribed to be founded by Padamasambhava. Largest monastery of Lahaul.
Juling Buddhist temple. V. Juling, Lahaul.	Drugpa sect.	
Kangani Chorten, Manchet area, Lahaul.	Drugpa sect.	Paintings in blue and reddish brown colours.
Kardang monastery. On the left slope of Bhaga river near Keylang, Lahaul.	Drugpa sect. Contains ashes of Lama Narbu Rempoche.	Flat roof. There are four Chapels in the monastery. Wall decorated with colourful paintings. Founded in the 12th century. Re-established

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		by Lama Norbu Rimpocho in 1912 A.D.
Laphrang monastery V. Laphrang, Lahaul.	Drugpa Sect.	Slate roof.
Maning Lha Khang. Lahaul.	1.8 m. high stucco image of Padamasambhava.	Flat roof. 2 storeys high building.
Sha-Shur monastery. V. Sha-Shur, 3 kms. from Keylong, Lahaul.	Drugpa Sect.	Previously flat, now reroofed in pent roof. Founded by Lama Deva Gyasatsho of Ladakh in the 17th century A.D. 2 storeys.
Sani Monastery. V. Sani, Lahaul.	Drugpa sect.	Flat roof. 2 storeys.
Sissu monastery. V. Sissu, 24 kms. from Keylang-Khaksar road, Lahaul.	Drugpa Sect.	
Tayul monastery. 6 kms. from Keylong, Lahaul.	Large image of Padama-sambhava.	Flat roof. Mural paintings. Ascribed to Padamasambhava. 2 storeys.
Tukiling monastery. V. Tukiling, Lahaul.	Drugpha Sect.	Pent roof.

SPITI REGION

Dankhar monastery. V. Dankhar, Spiti.	Lha-od-pai-dgon-pa (Gelugpa sect.)	Flat roof. 2 temples. Ascribed to be founded by Rin-chen-Sang-po. (958-1055 A.D.)
Hansa monastery. V. Hansa, Spiti.	Stucco image. Geluppa Sect.	Newly constructed on the site of old monastery. It has stucco image of Jamlu on a horse. Flat roof.
Kibar monastery. V. Kibar, Spiti.		
Kee monastery. V. Kee, Spiti.	Gelugpa Sect.	Complex of several buildings. Founded by Bromston, the pupil of Atisha (982-1054 A.D.) in the 11th century A.D.

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		Famous for murals and Thankas.
Lha-Lun monastery. Lingte valley, Spiti.	Stucco image of Vairochana. There are 36 more Stucco.	Flat roof. 11th century A.D. Damaged by Seg-po (Mongol) during Ladakhi-Tibet war.
Pin-Monastery. Pin valley, Spiti.	Life size wooden image of Buddha covered with silver (Drugpa sect).	Flat roof.
Tabo monastery. V. Tabo, on the bank of Spiti river.	Principal image Vairochanas. (Gelugpa Sect).	Flat roof. Complex of eight temples. Founded by Rin-Chen Sang-po in 996/1008 A.D. Many cave chapels are also found on the adjoining cliff here. Famous for the wall-paintings.
Tanjar monastery. 14 kms. up hill from Kaza in Spiti valley.	Gelupha sect.	Flat roof. Contains Buddhist scriptures.
Tangyud monastery. Kaza valley, Spiti.	(Sa-Skya-pa Sect).	Flat roof.
Riwalsar monastery. V. Riwalsar, Mandi District.	Image of Padamasambhava shown with usual attributes—a thunderbolt, a human skull, a trident crowned with three human heads.	Pent roof. Ascribed to be founded by Padamasambhava.

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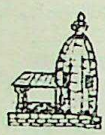

1	Hill temple 2	Shikhara temple 3	Buddhist Monastery 4	Wood Carving 5	Metal and Stone Sculpture 6	Painting 7	Archaeo-logical site 8
CHAMBA							
Brahmaur	*	*		*	*		
Chamba		*			*	*	
Chhatrarhi	*			*	*		
Devi Kothi	*			*			
Gum							*
Mindal	*			*			
Sahu					*		
KANGRA							
Baijnath		*			*		
Cheri							*
Chetru							*
Fatehpur		*			*	*	
Haripur		*				*	
Kangra		*		*		*	*
Kanhiara							*

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Masrur		*			*		
Nadaun						*	
Nurpur		*			*	*	
Pathiar							*
Sujanpur-Tira		*			*	*	
KULU							
Behna	*						
Bajaura		*			*		*
Dashal		*					
Dyar	*						
Jagatsukh		*					
Khokhan	*						
Kulu						*	
Malana	*						
Manali	*			*			
Manikaran		*					
Nagar	*	*					
Nirmand	*	*		*	*		*
Nithar	*						
Shanshar	*						
Vashist		*					

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1	2	3	4		6	7	8
MANDI-BILASPU							
Auhar		*					
Bilaspur		*				*	
Chhatri	*						
Hatgarh		*					
Kamlah	*	—					
Kao	*						
Mamel	*				*		
Mandi		*			*	*	
Naina Devi		*					
Nawhi		*					
Parashar	*						
Rewalsar		*	*				
Sunder nagar						*	
SIMLA-SOLAN							
Arki							
Balag		*			*		
Dabha		*					*
Dattnagar					*		*
Hatkoti	*			*	*		*
Jubbal	*						
Kharan	*						

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Manan	*						
Nirath	*	*			*	*	
Rampur		*	*	*			
Rohru	*						
Sarahan (Bashahr)	*				*		
Sarahan (Chopal)	*						
Sholi	*						*
SIRMUR							
Bandal	*						
Deona	*						
Jambu	*						
Manal	*						
Mangarh		*					*
Nahan		*					
Poanta (Gurdawara)							
Sirmuri-Tal							*
Tilokpur		*					
Suketi							*
KINNAUR							
Chitkul	*						
Kamru	*						
Kanam			*				

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Kothi	*						
Labrang	*						
Morang	*		*				
Nako			*				
Nichar	*						
Rakcham	*						
Sungra	*						
Tashigong			*				
Urni	*						
LAHAUL-SPITI							
Dhanker			*				
Gamur			*				
Gondhla			*				
Guru-Ghantal			*	*	*		
Hansa			*		*		
Kardang			*				
Kye (Kee)			*			*	
Lha-lun			*	*	*		
Shashur			*				
Tabo			*		*	*	*
Trilokinath		*			*		
Udaipur	*			*	*		

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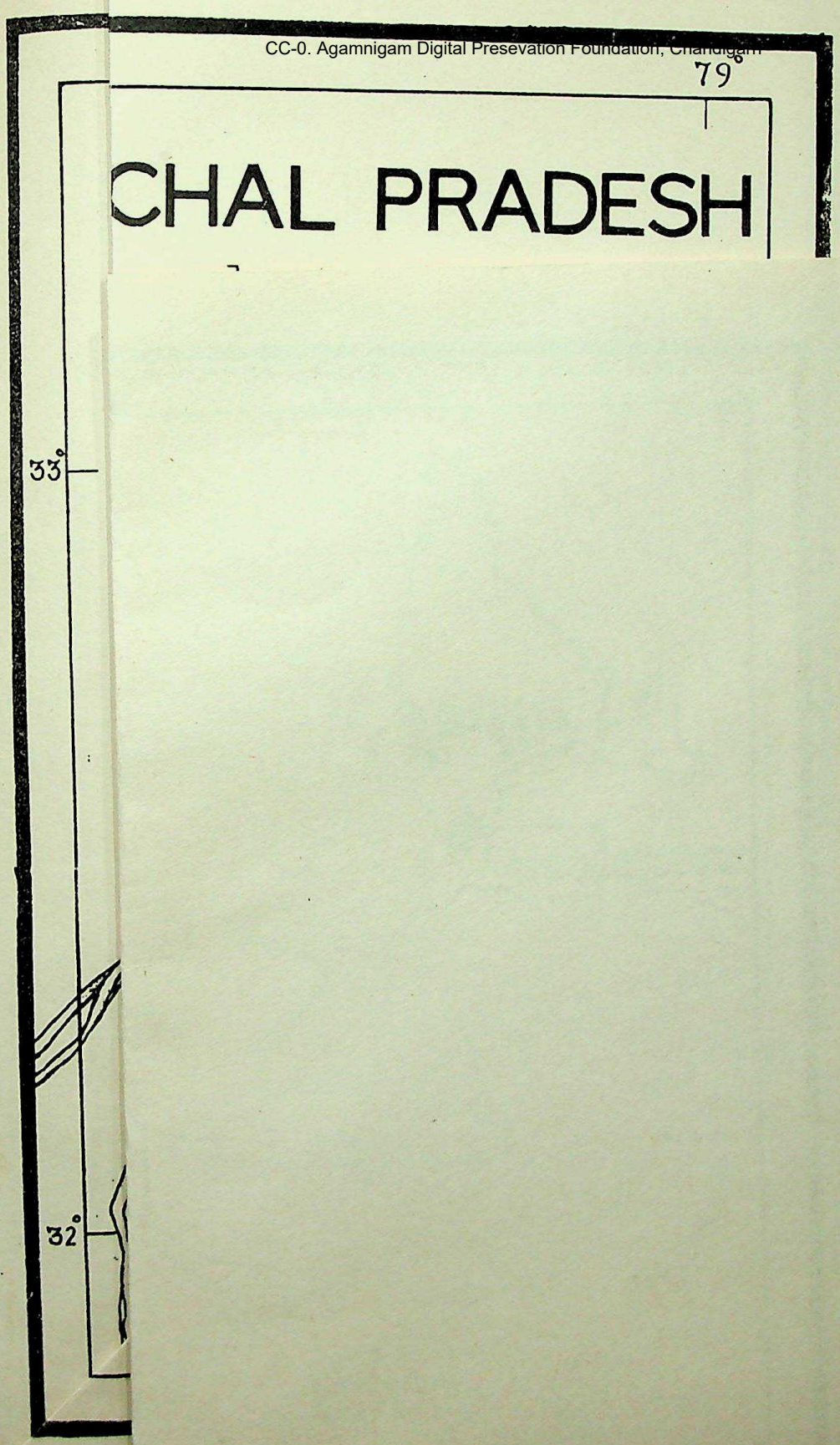

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Collection and Photo : O.C. Sud. Photo XKXII Col.

121. Shiva and Parvati with Hanuman on their way to Kailash,
Chamba, 19th century.
Collection and Photo : O.C. Sud. Photo XXXI Col.

122. Churning of Ocean by gods and demons,
Mandi, C. 18th century.
Collection : Roja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo LXII Col.

123. Kurma, the second incarnation of Mahavishun, destroying Svarbhanu Asura.
Mandi, C. 18th century.
Collection : Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo LII Col.

124. Varsha, the third incarnation of Mahavishnu, lifting earth out of water on his tusks and killing fierce and wicked Hiranyaksha with his club Nandaka,
Mandi, C. 18th century.
Collection : Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo XXI Col.

125. Parshu Rama, the sixth incarnation of Mahavishnu, chopping thousand hands of Kartaviryarjuna.
Mandi, c. late 17th century.
Collection : Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo LXXII Col.

126. Dashratha consecrated as king of Ayodhya by his family priest Vasistha.

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Chamba, c. 1760-65 A.D.
Collection : Bhurisingh Museum, Chamba.
Photo : V.C. Ohri. Photo LXXXII Col.

127. Rama in exile at Panchavati with Sita and Lakshmana,
Chamba (Guler influence). c. 1790 A.D.
Collection : Bhurisingh Museum, Chamba. Photo LXXI Col.

128. Coronation of Rama,
Bilaspur, 19th century.
Collection . Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo XII Col.

129. Krishna fluting to the cows,
Kangra, late 17th century.
Collection : Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo II Col.

130. Sorath Ragini, Megh Rag,
Guler, 17th century.
Collection : O.C. Sud.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CX

CHAMBA RUMALS

131. Floral work,
Collection and photo : O.C. Handa. Photo II Col.

132. Ras Lila,
Collection : Author.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo XLI Col.

BUDDHIST ART

133. Plan of Tabo monastery-complex with eight temples, (966 or 1008 A.D.)
Sketch : O.C. Handa. Photo CXIII

134. Kye monastery,
V. Kye, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXIVA

135. Chaitya (Tib : Chorten),
Sketch : O.C. Handa. Photo CXIVb

136. Miniature silver chorten inside Du-khang temple of Tabo monastery-complex,
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : K.L. Vaidya. Photo CXV

137. Stucco image of four faced Vairochana at Tabo monastery possibly the

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11th century,
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo K.L. Vaidya. Photo CXVIA

138. Stucco images on the walls of Duwang—the central hall of the monastery.
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : K.L. Vaidya. Photo CXVIB

139. Life size stucco male and female image in the central hall of the Du-wang temple,
c. 11th century. Photo CXVIIA

140. Stucco image of Padmasambhava,
V. Rewalsar, Mandi.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXVIIB

141. Wooden image of Buddha Sakyamuni in Bhumisparsamudra,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXVIIIA

142. Sandal wood image of Dolma,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXVIIIb

143. Wooden Chhapum,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXVIIIC

144. Brass image of Amitayus (Spt. Chkepama),
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXIXA

145. Brass and copper image of Sadaksari Avalokiteshvara,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. CXIXb

146. Brass image of Avalokiteshvara,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXa

147. Brass image of eleven headed Avalokiteshvara,
Author's Collection.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXb

148. Brass image of Manjushri,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXIa

149. Brass image of white Tara,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXIb

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150. Silver image inlaid with gold of Hevajra,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXIIbc

151. Gilded Tara,
Western Tibet.
Collection and photo : O.C. Sud. Photo XCI Col.

152. Vajradhara (c. 18th-19th century),
Kinnaur.
Collection and Photo : O.C. Sud. XCII Col.

153. Padmasambhava :
Collection and photo : O.C. Sud. Photo CI Col, CII Col.

BUDDHIST PAINTINGS

154. Fresco painting depicting Bodhisattva, (11th century),
Ser-lang temple, Tabo Monastery.
V. Tabo, Spiti,
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXIIIb

155. Fresco-painting depicting four faced Vairochana on the North wall of Ser-lang, temple, Tabo monastery, (11th century),
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXIIIa

156. Do-rje-chang (skr. Vajradhara), 11th century,
Ser-lang temple, Tabo monastery,
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : K.L. Vaidya. Photo CXXIVa

157. Fresco paintings depicting various divinities of the Buddhist pantheon, (11th century),
Tabo Monastery,
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXVa

158. Fresco paintings showing a deity with light arms.
(11th century),
Ser-lang temple, Tao Monastery.
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXIVI

159. Dharmapala (Beg-tse), god of war and protector of horses, (11th century),
V. Tabo, Spiti,
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXIVB

160. Fresco painting depicting a Lama from the lineage of Tson-Kha-pa (11th century),

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Chhumba-Chumba,
Tabo Monastery.
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXVb

161. Decorated ceiling in Chhumba-Chumba at Tabo, (11th century) reproducing Kashmiri styles of that period. The goddesses are clearly Indian inspired. The birds represent peacocks or even possibly the phoenix. This ancient ceiling suggests an Indian origin.
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : K.L. Vaidya. Photo CXXVIIIa, CXXVIIIb, CXXVIIa,b

162. Fresco paintings in Rampur-Bashahr Palace depicting various divinities from Buddhist pantheon,
Rampur-Bashaer, Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXIX

THANKAS

163. Sadaksari-Avalokiteshvara,
Collection and Photo : O.C. Handa. CXI Col.

164. Padmasambhava,
Collection and Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXII Col.

165. Buddhist Mandala painting,
Private collection, V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXXa

166. Embroidered Thanka depicting,
Tsong-Kha-pa and his two disciples,
Key Monastery, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXXb

167. Ganesha on his mount, a Thanka painting,
Key Monastery, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXXIIA

MONASTIC ARTEFACTS

168. Phur-ba (magic dart) used especially for the ritual slaying of supposed enemy of the doctrine, human or divine, or in more philosophical terms, the demon of the self.
Sketch : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXXI

169. Prayer Wheel (Tib : Mani-Chho-Khar),
Sketch : O.C. Handa. Photo CXXXIIB

170. Silver wares,
Kinnaur.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt. Photo CXxIIa, CXXIIIc.

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Metal mask of a *Devta*,
Kulu.
Photo and collection : O.C. Sud.

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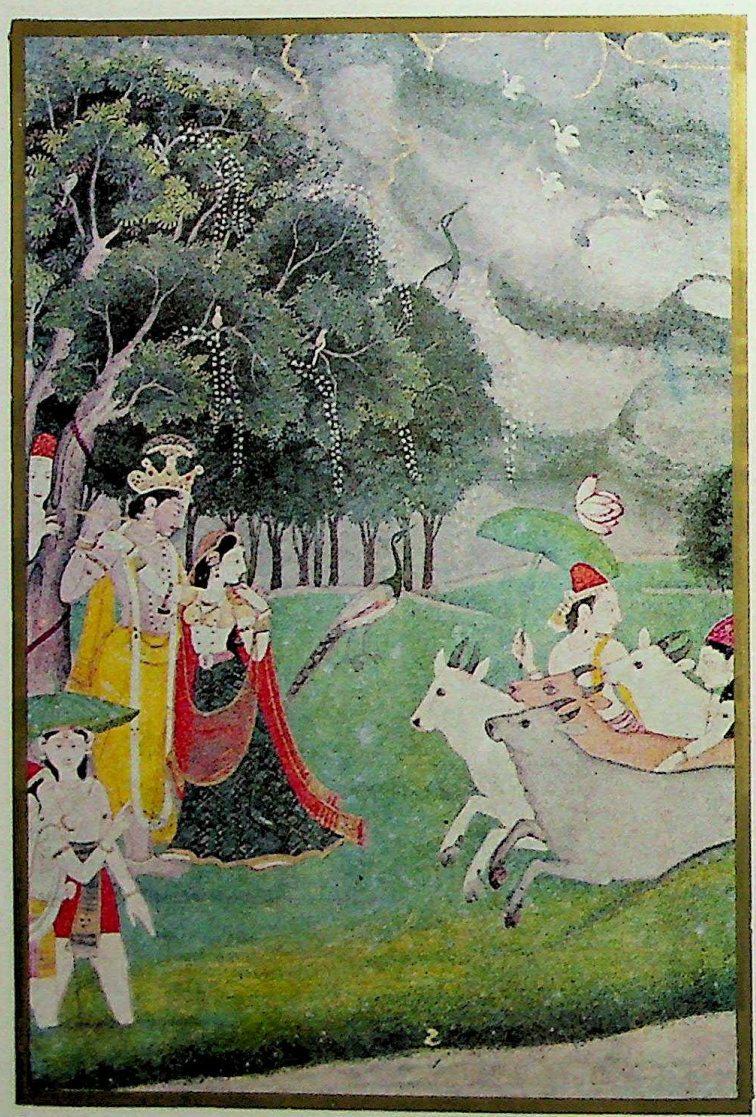

Krishna fluting to the cows,
Kangra, late 17th century.
Collection : Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Rairemool Devi temple,
V. Kadharan (Balson), Simla Hills.
Photo : Rajender Singh Thakur.

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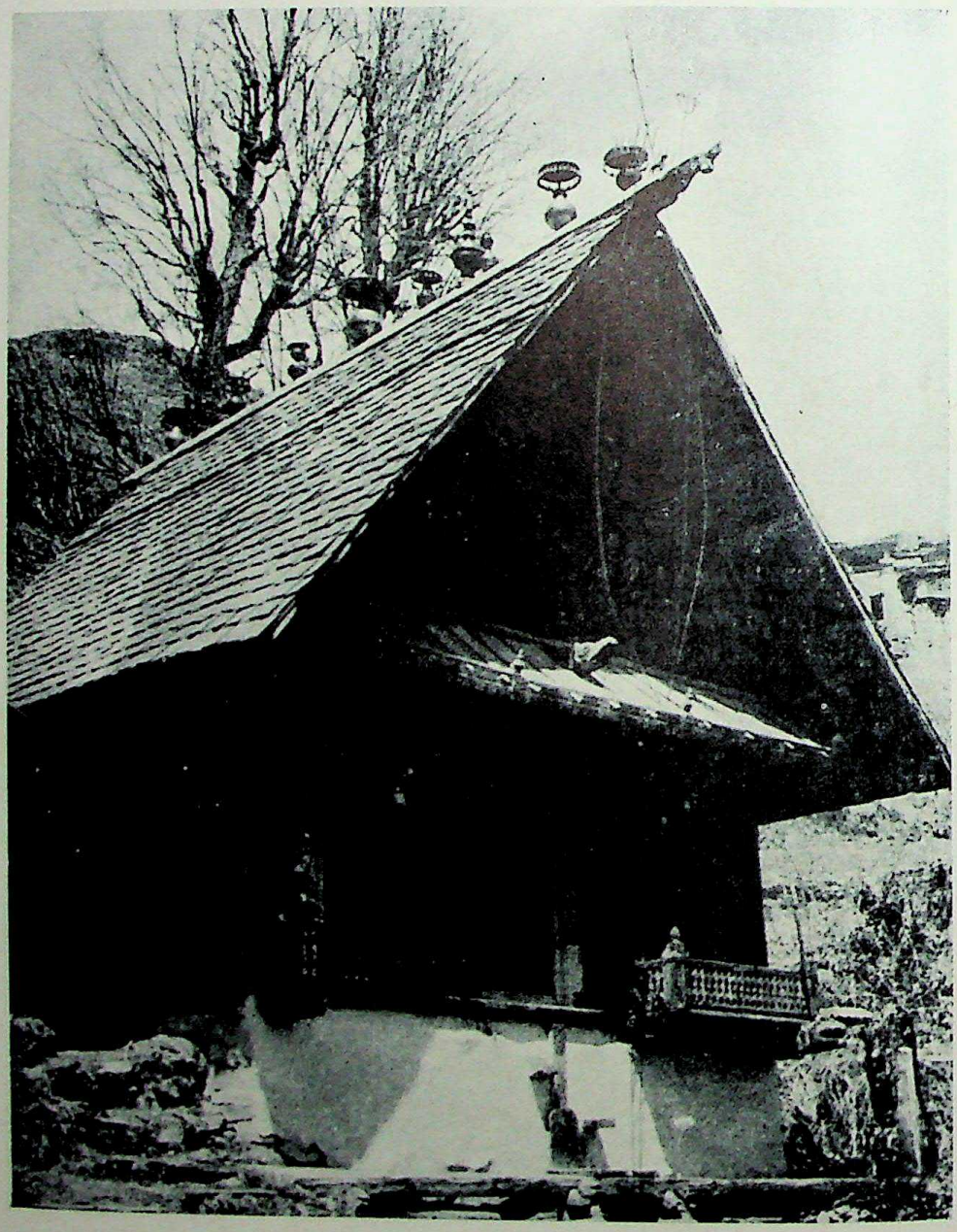

Chamunda Devi temple,
V. Devi-Kothi (Churah), Chamba.
Built by Raja Umed Singh of Chamba in 1754 A.D.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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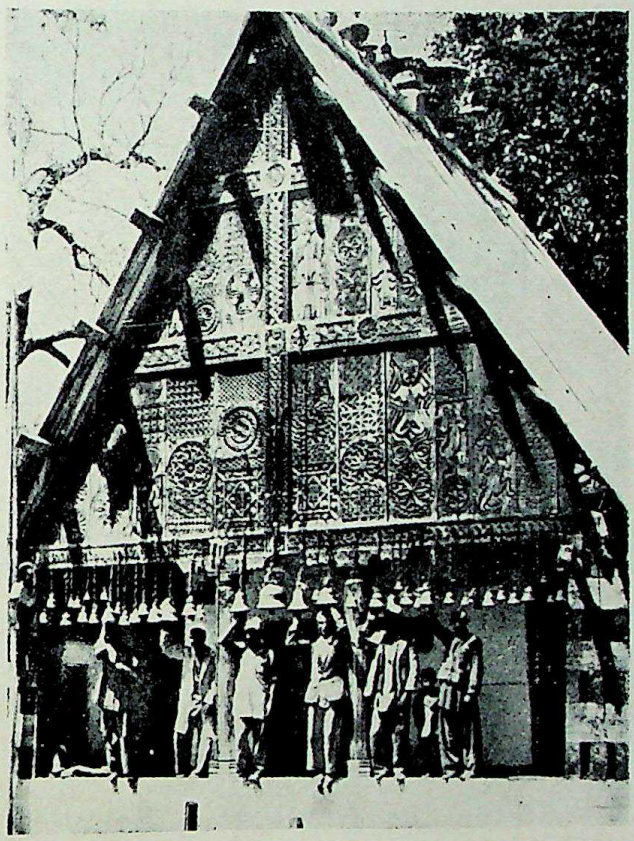
(a) Chamunda Devi temple,
V. Mindhal (Pangi Valley), Chamba →
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Chalet type temple,
Upper Simla Hills.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.
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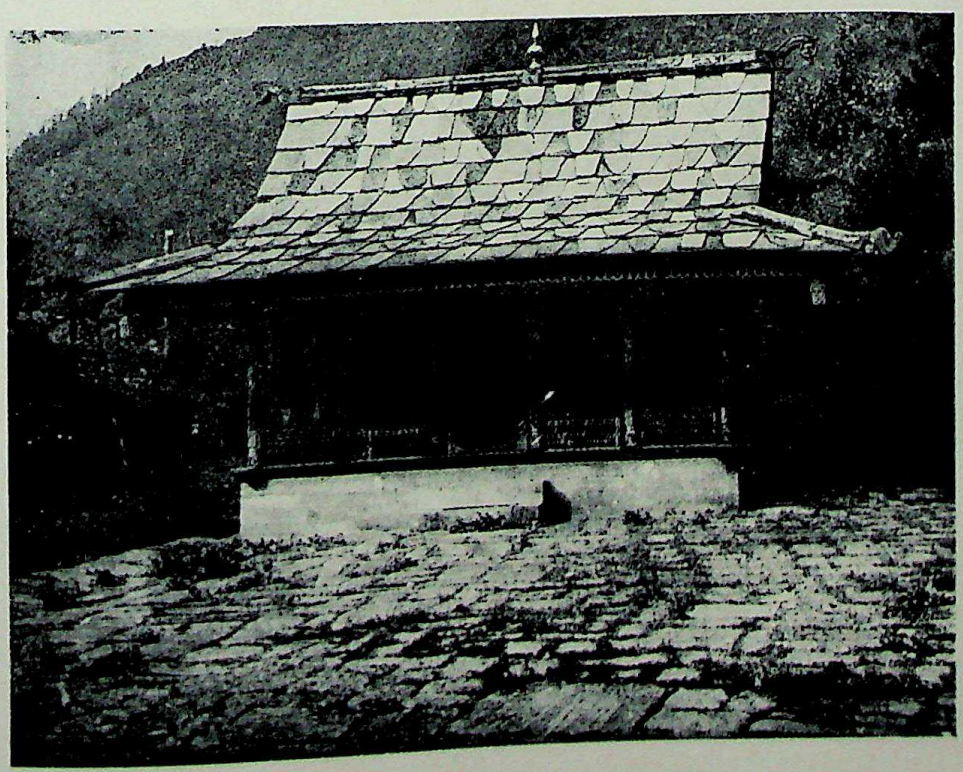

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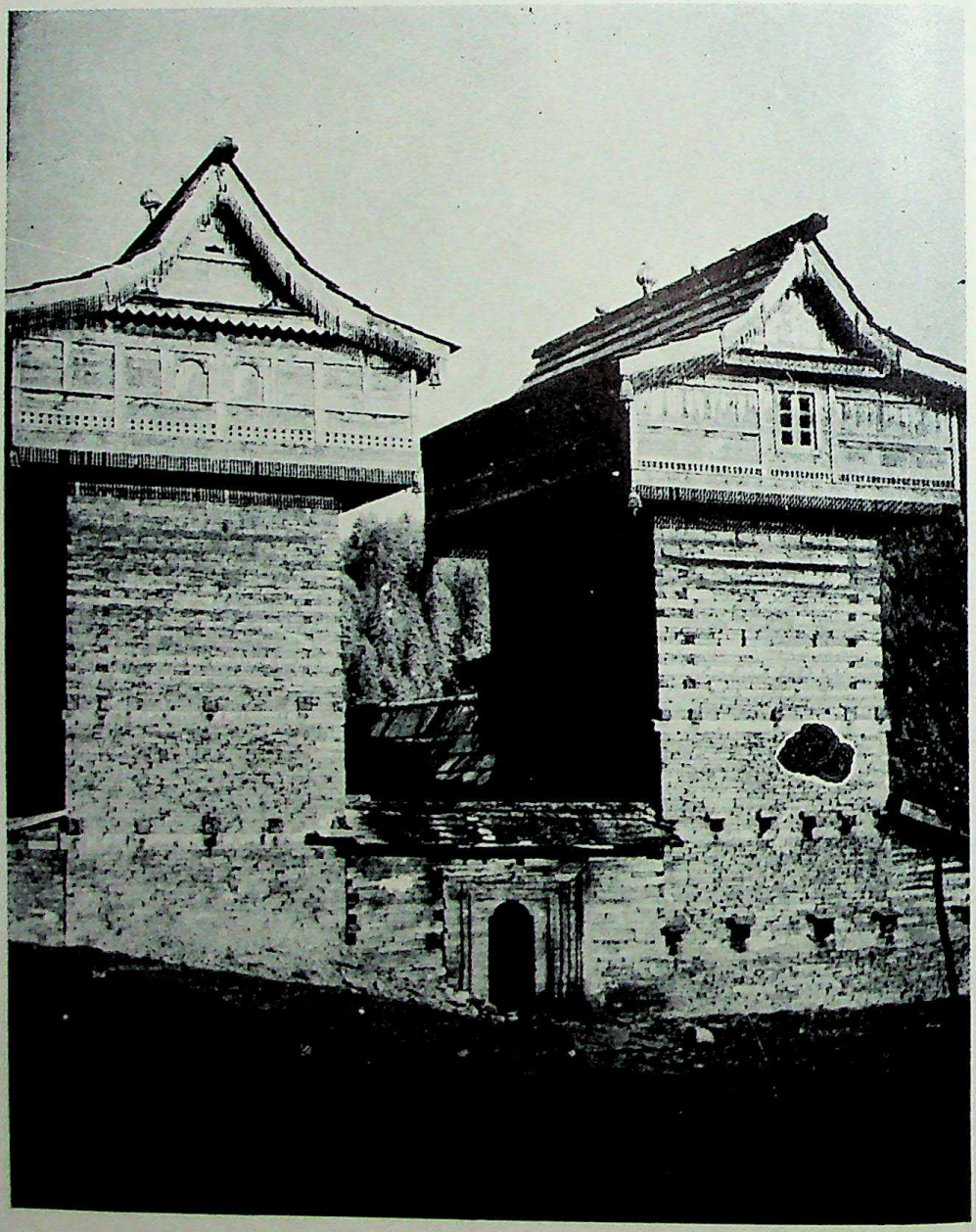

Bijjat Deota temple,
V. Sarahan (Chopal), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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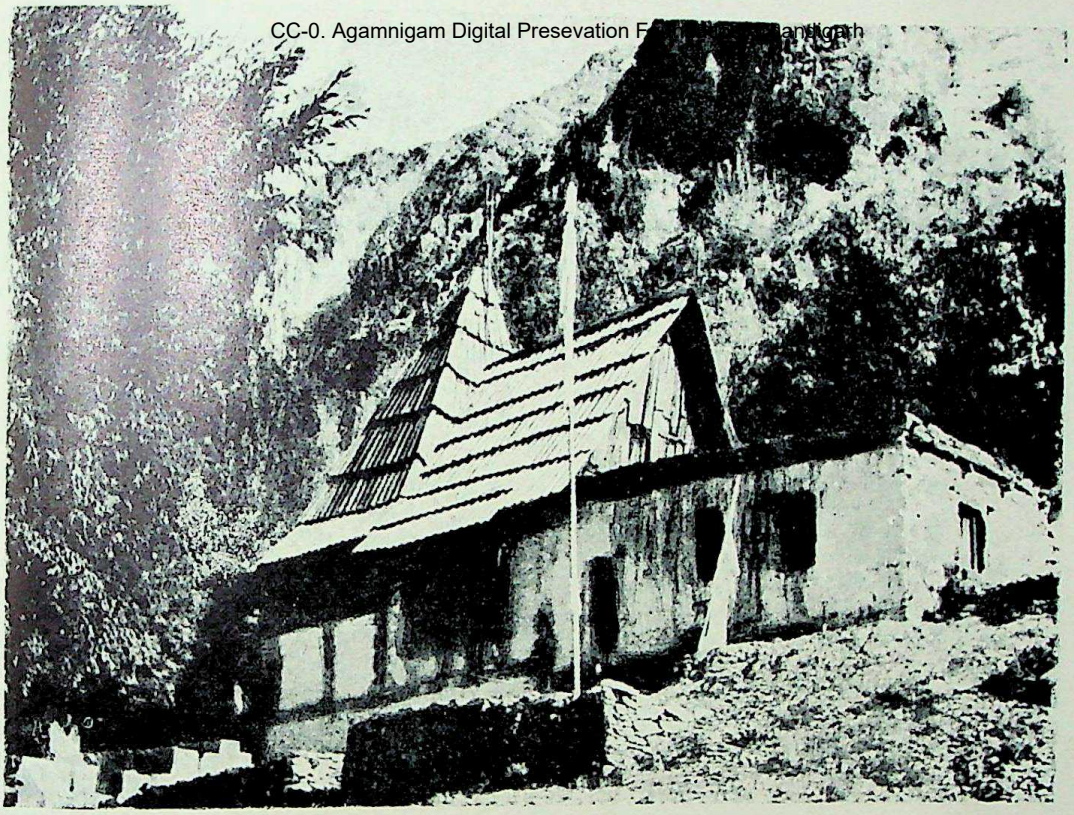
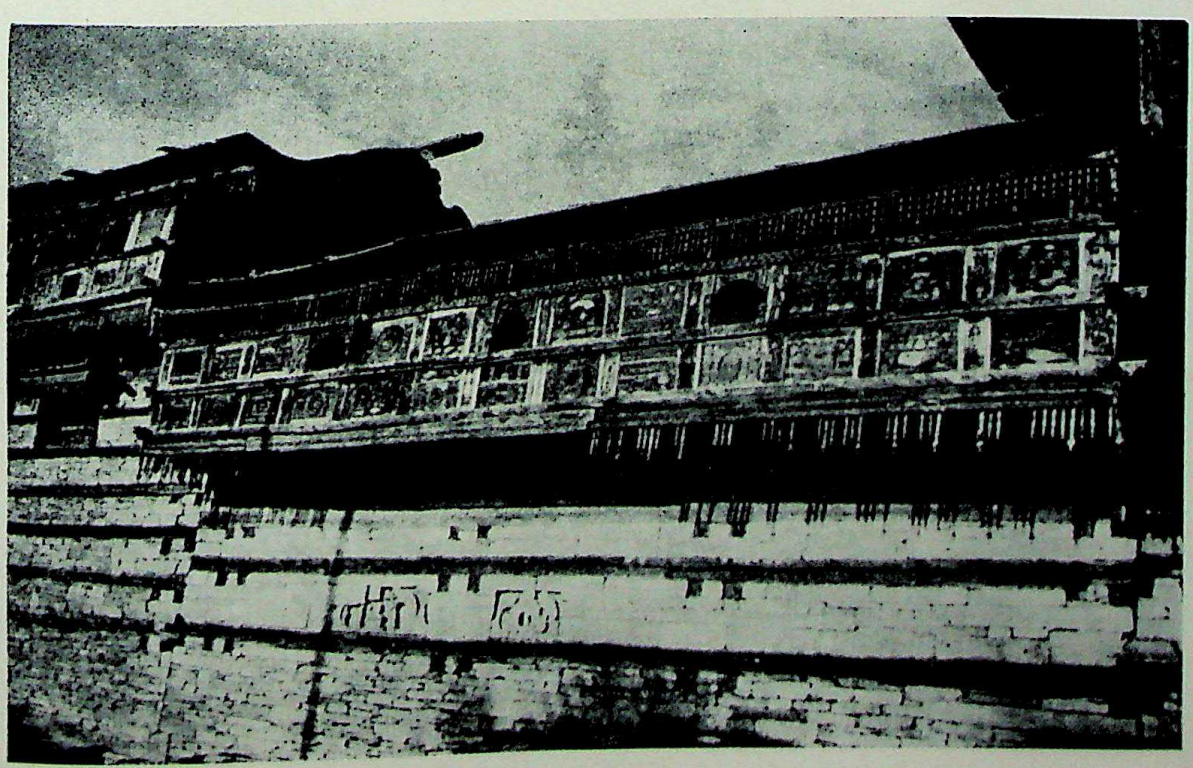


Kali (popularly known as Mirkula Devi) temple,
V. Udaipur (Mirkula), Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.



Parshu Rama temple,
V. Nirmand (Outer Saraj), Kulu.

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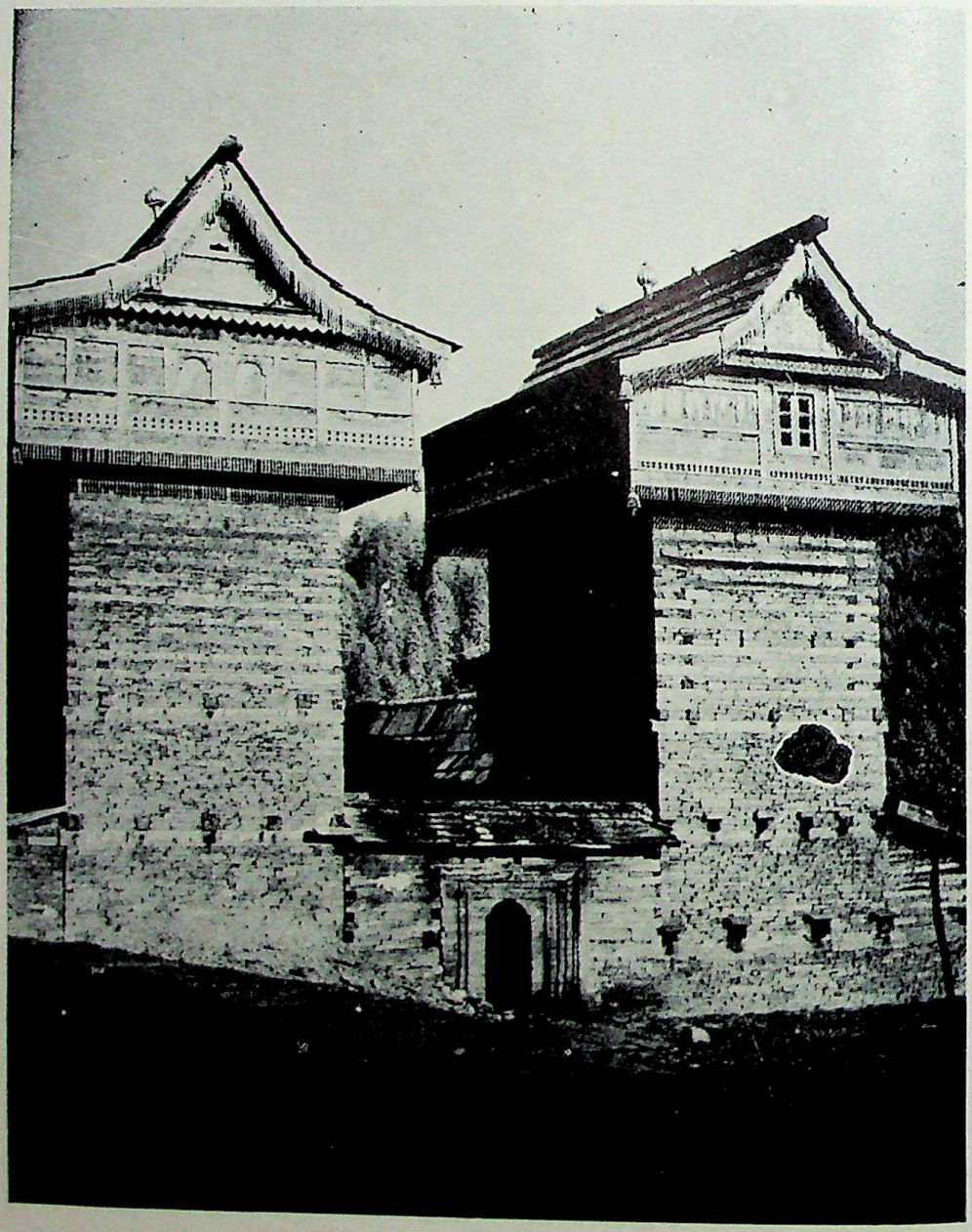

Bijjat Deota temple,
V. Sarahan (Chopal), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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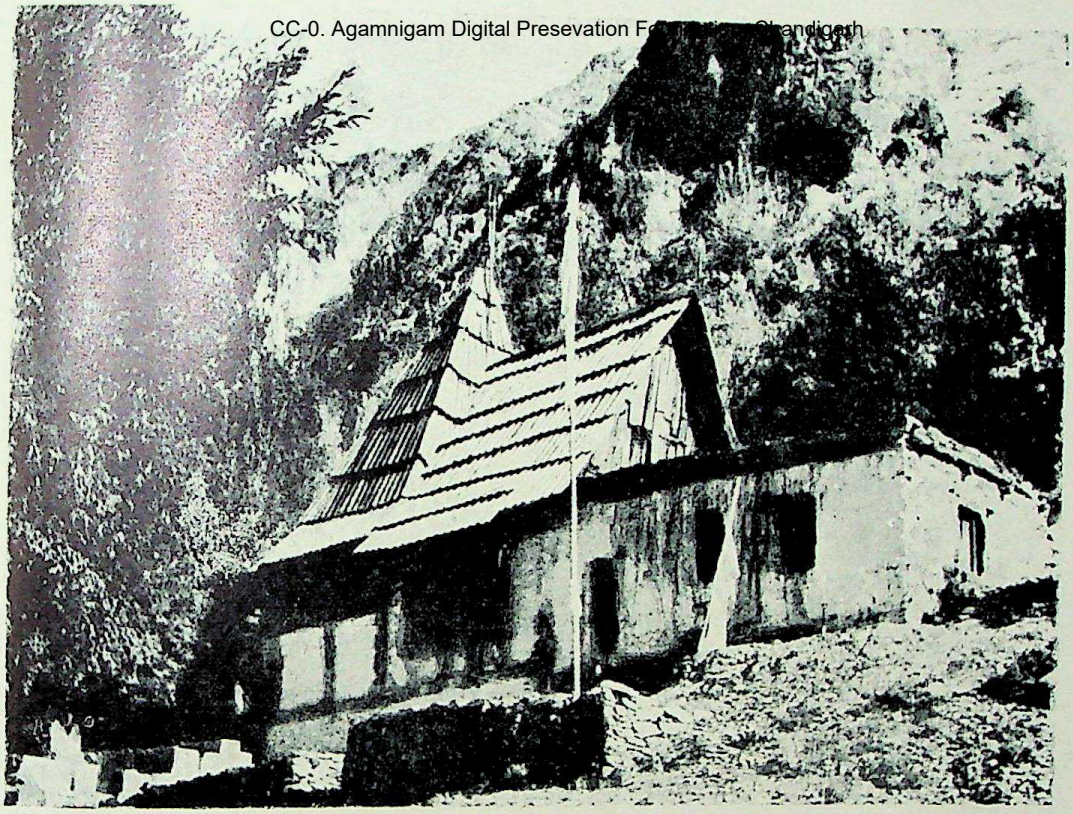

Kali (popularly known as Mirkula Devi) temple,
V. Udaipur (Mirkula), Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

Parshu Rama temple,
V. Nirmand (Outer Saraj), Kulu.
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.

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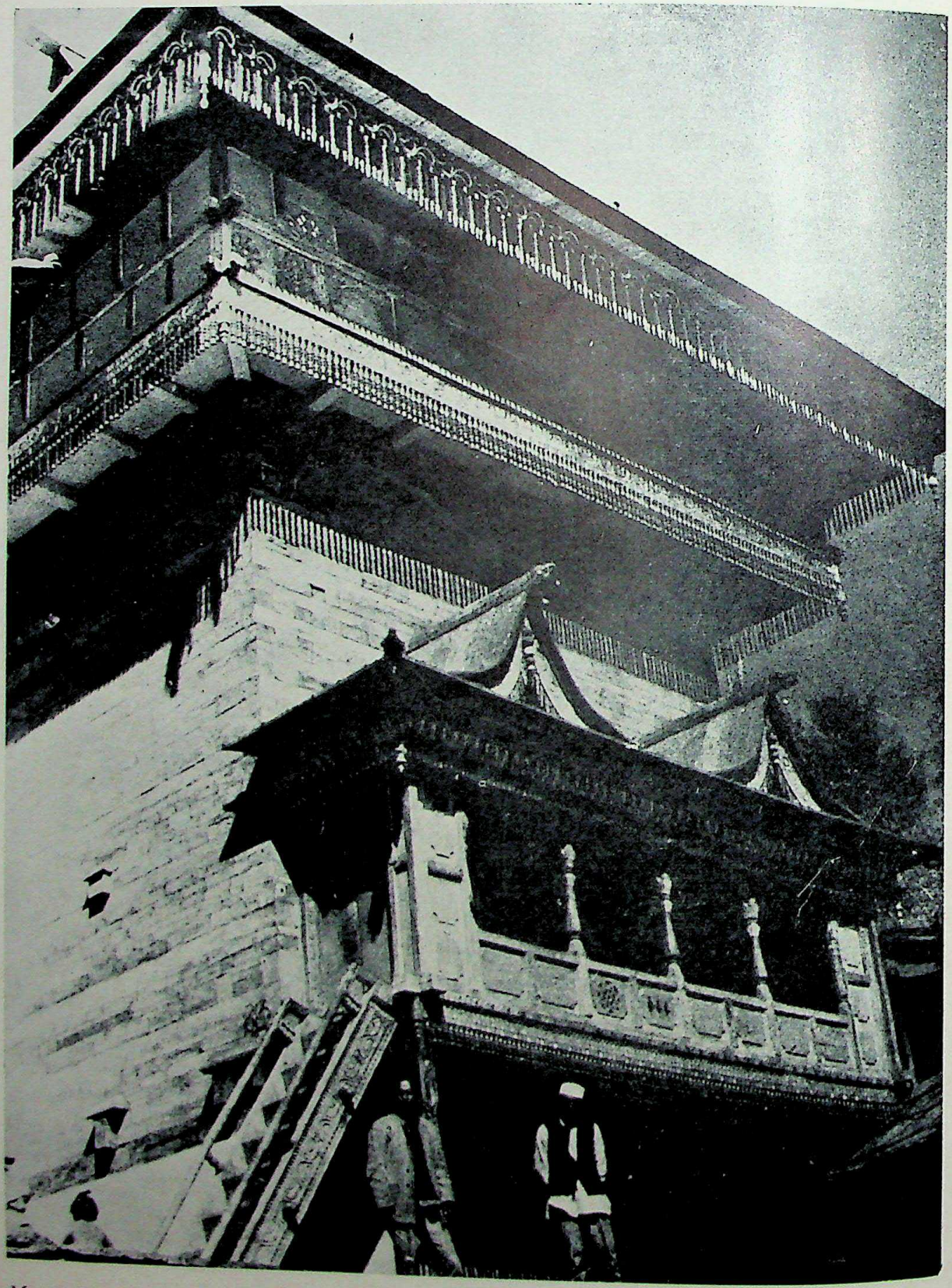

Mananeshwar temple,
V. Manan (Theog), Simla Hill-

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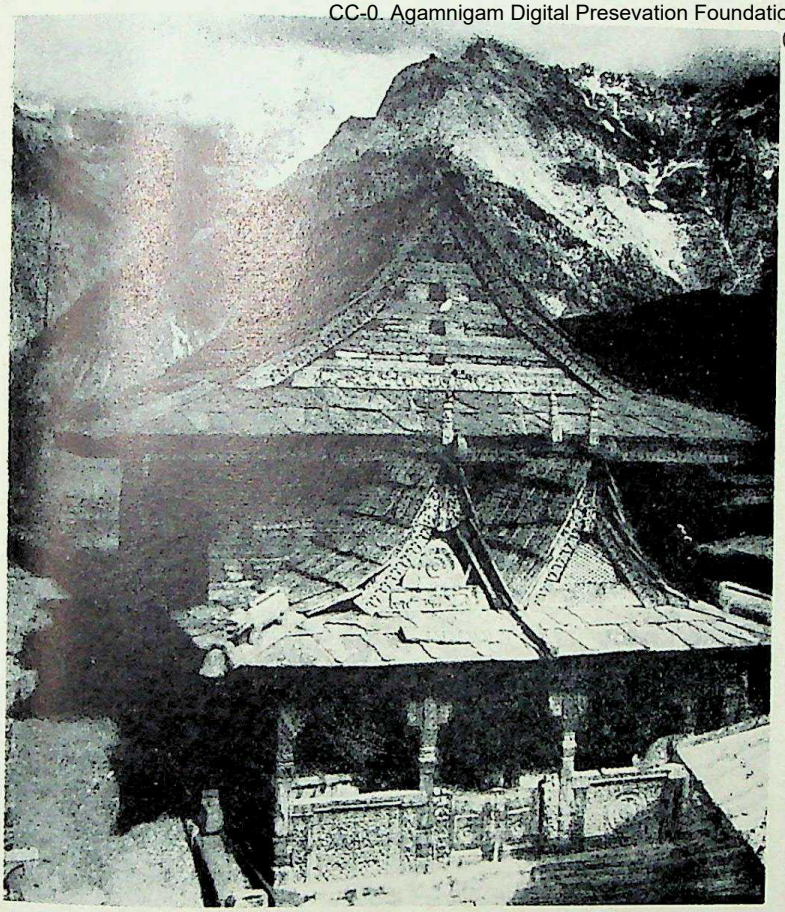
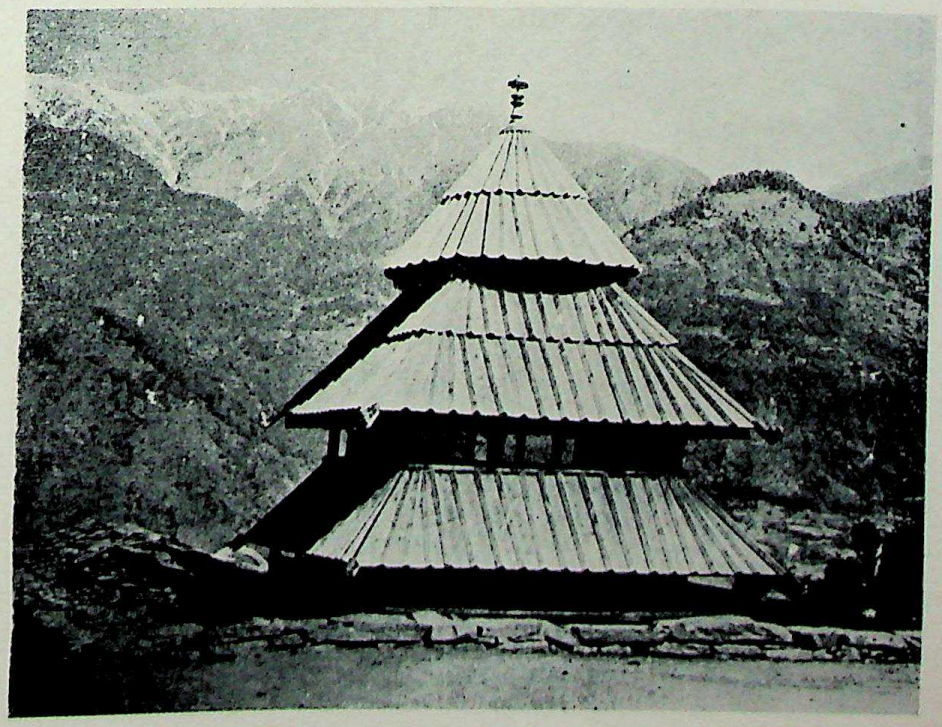


(a) A twin-gabled temple,
V. Chini, Kinnaur.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

(b) Tripura Sundri temple,
V. Nagar (Beas Valley), Kulu.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.



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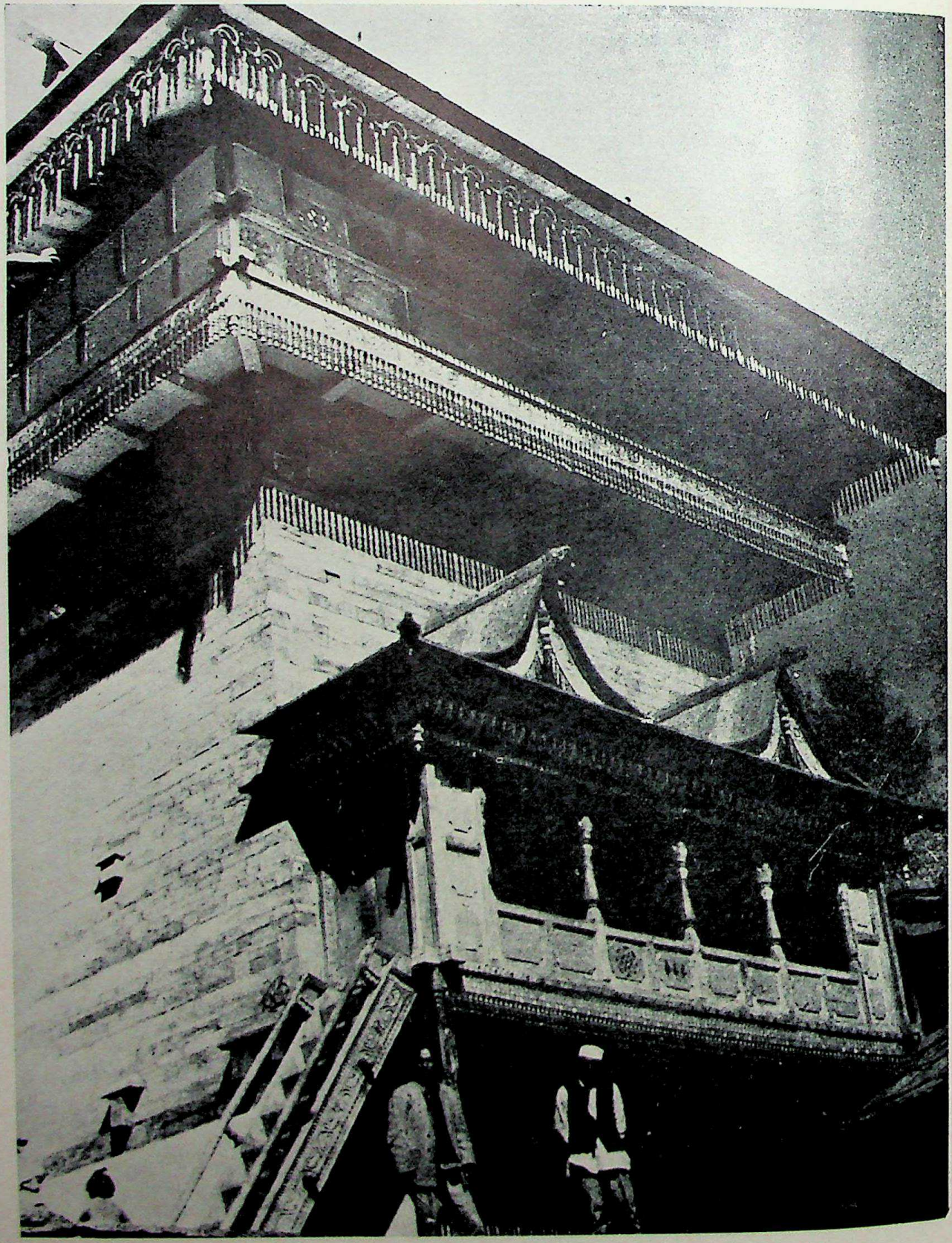

Mananeshwar temple,
V. Manan (Theog), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Sud.

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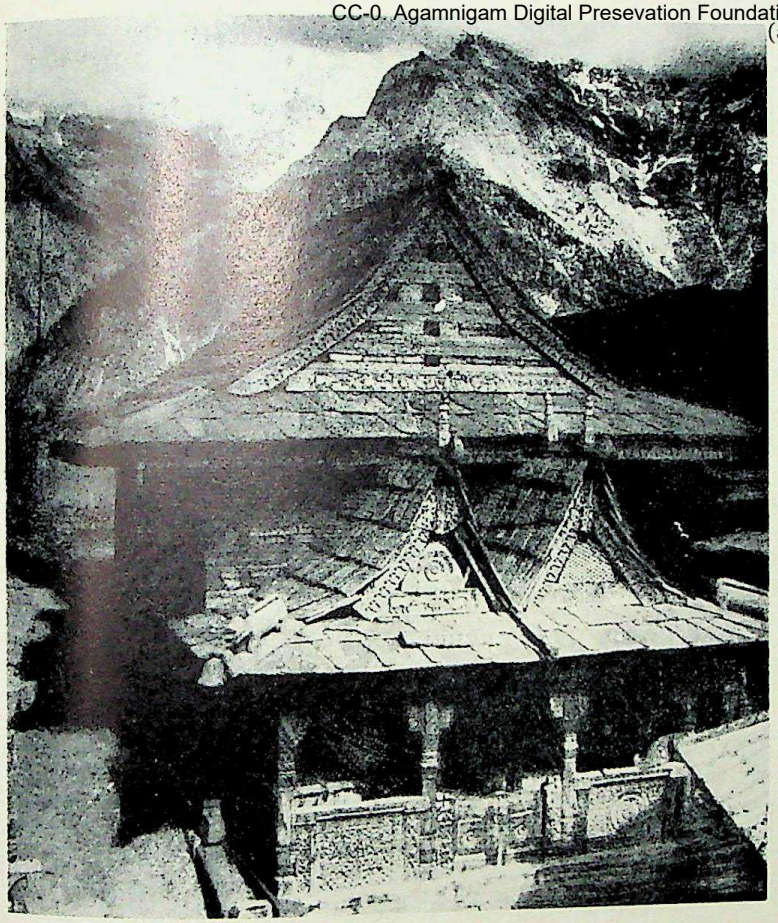

(a) A twin-gabled temple,
V. Chini, Kinnaur.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

(b) Tripura Sundri temple,
V. Nagar (Beas Valley), Kulu.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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Triyuginarayan temple,
V. Diyar (Kulu Valley)
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.

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Vishnu-Lakshmi,
Simla Hills.
Photo and collection : O. C. Sud.

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Coronation of Rama,
Bilaspur, 19th century.
Collection : Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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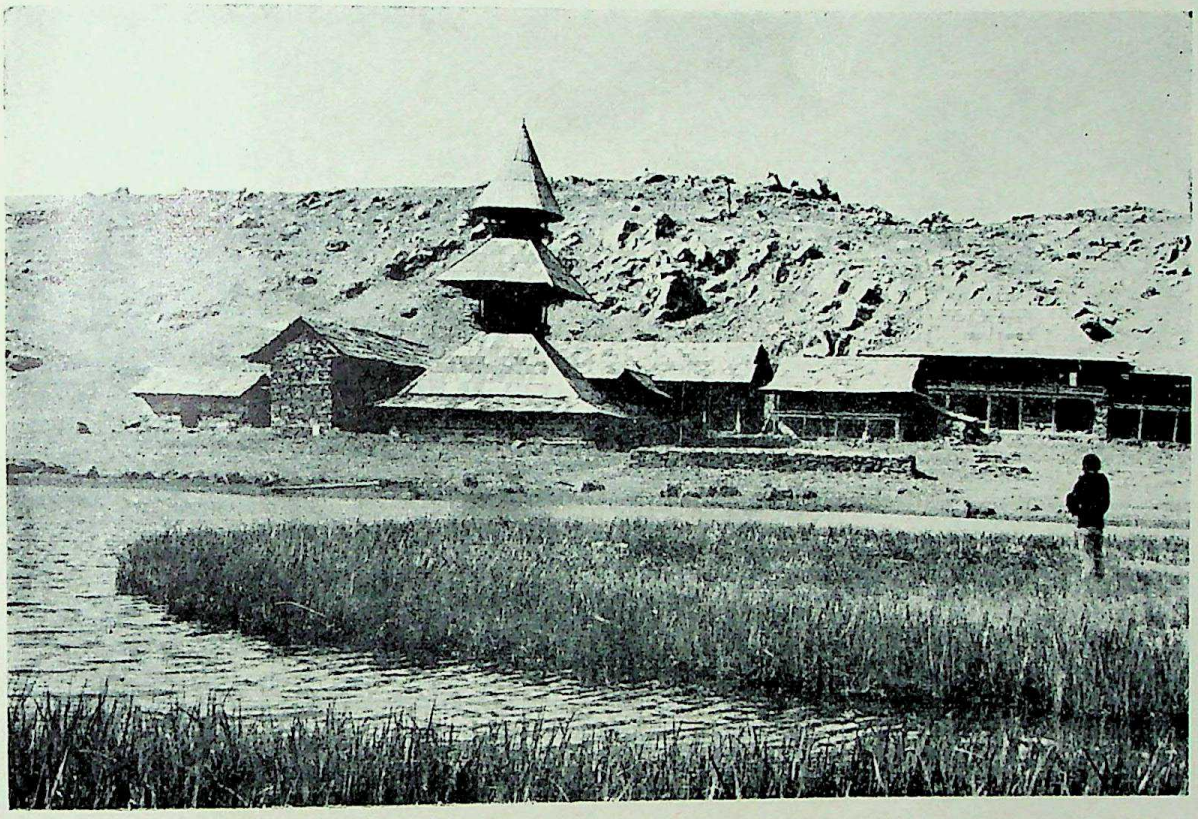
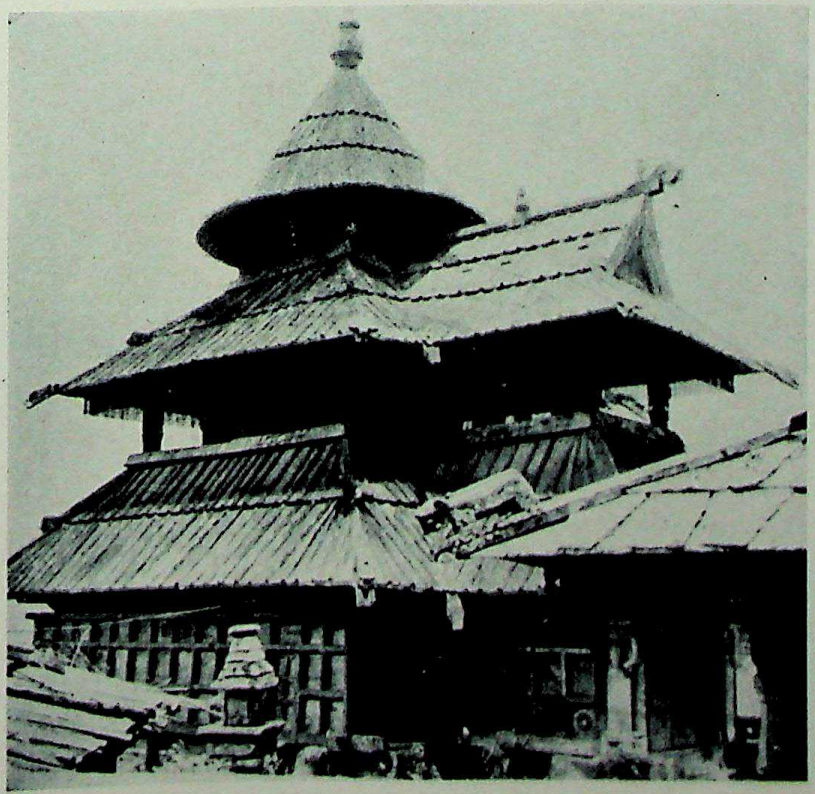


Prashar Rishi temple on the bank of Prashar Deo Lake,
Mandi.
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.



Maheshwara temple,
V. Sungra (Nichar), Kinnaur.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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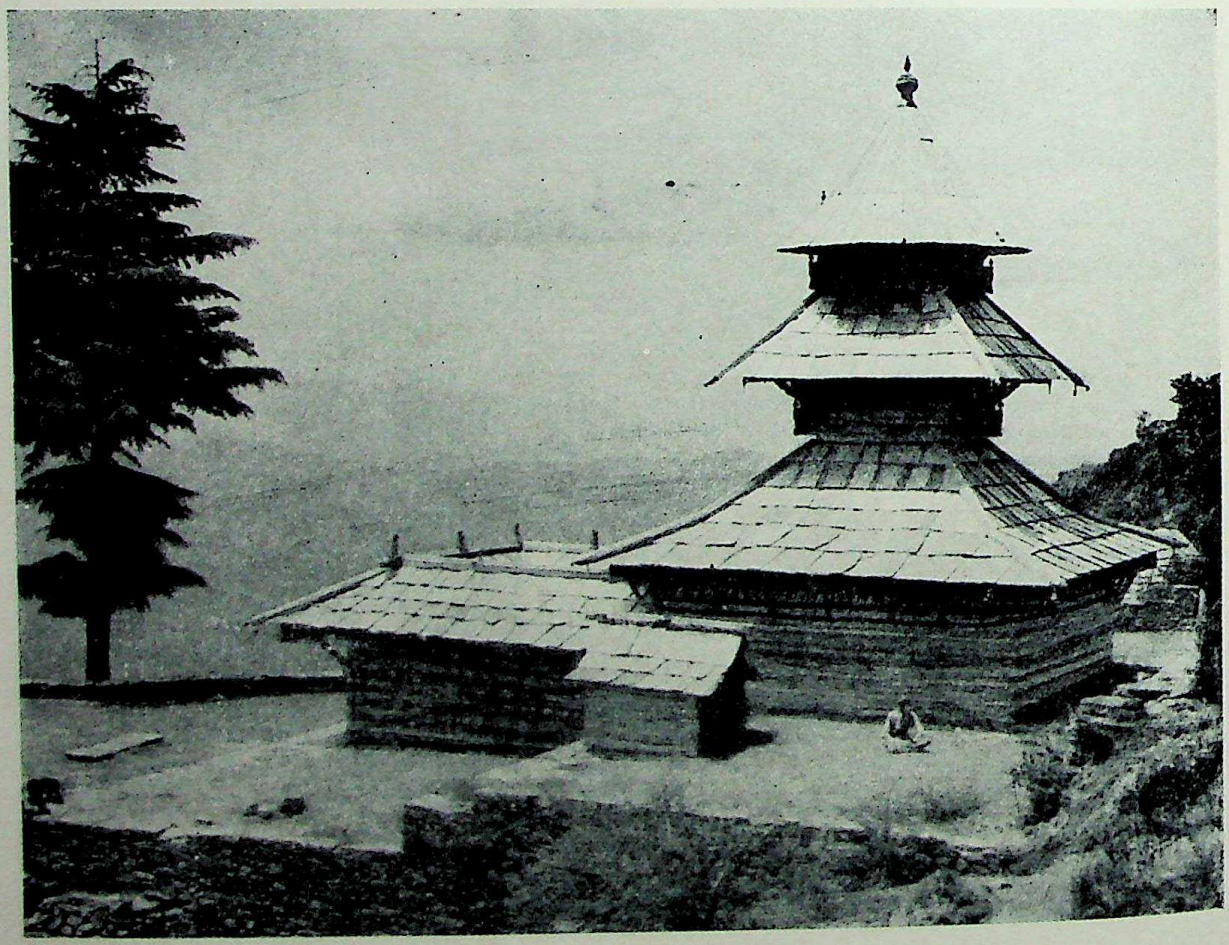

Brahma temple,
V. Dhiri, Mandi.
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.

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Maheshwara temple,
V. Chargaon (Nichar), Kinnaur.
Sketch : William Simpson, 1860.

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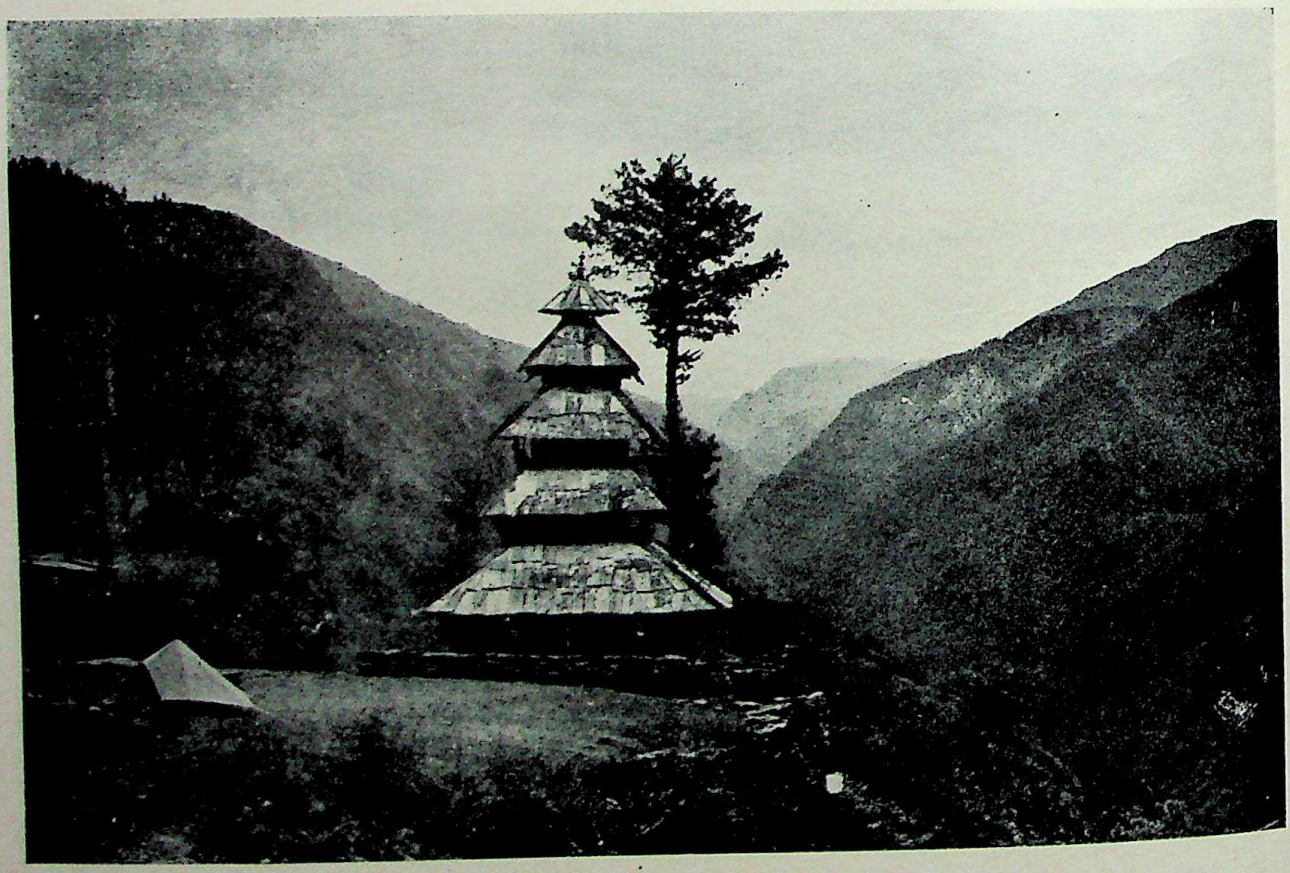

Manu Rishi temple,
V. Shainshar (Inner Saraj), Kulu.
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.

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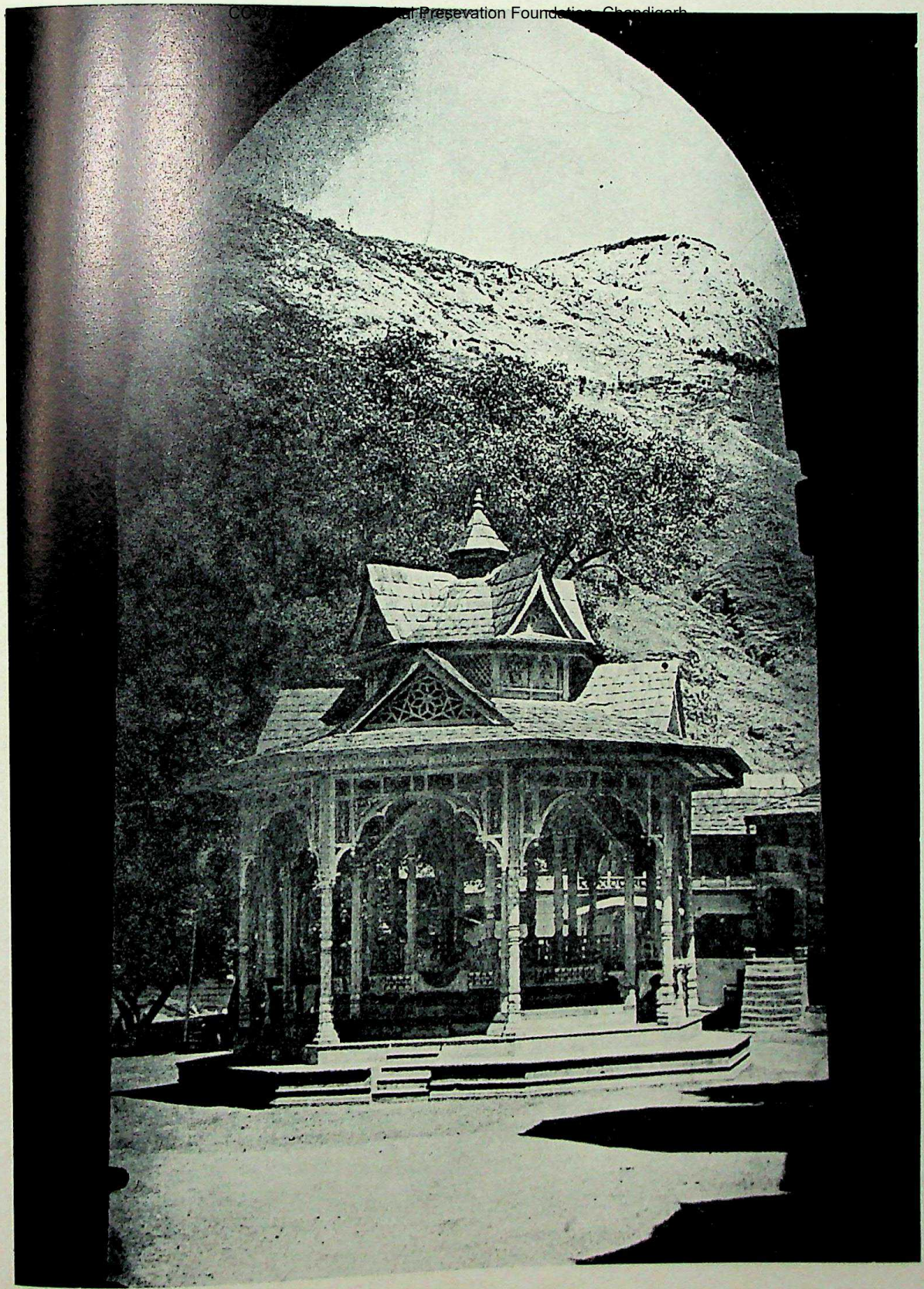

Bashahr Durbar pavilian,
Rampur-Bashahr, Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Hidimba Devi temple, V. Doongri (Manali), Kulu.
Photo : Himachal Tourism Corp.

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Brahma temple,
V. Khokhan, Kulu.
Sketch : John Nankivell :
The Architectural Review, February, 1973.

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Bhima Kali temple,
V. Sarahan (Rampur-Bashahr), Simla Hills.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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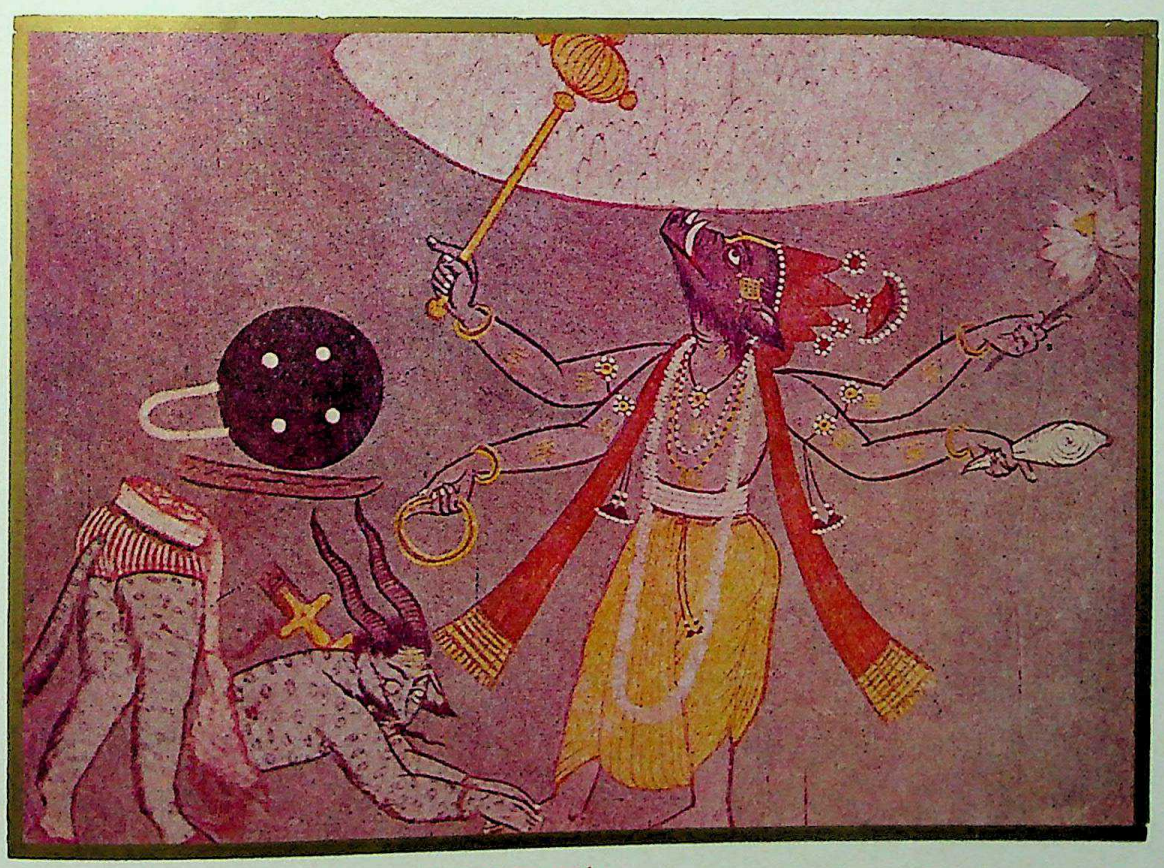

Varsha, the third incarnation of Mahavishnu, lifting earth out of water on his tusks and killing fierce and wicked Hiranyaksha with his club Nandaka,

Mandi, C. 18th century.

Collection : Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.

Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Durga on lion,
Simla Hills.
Photo and collection : O.C. Sud.

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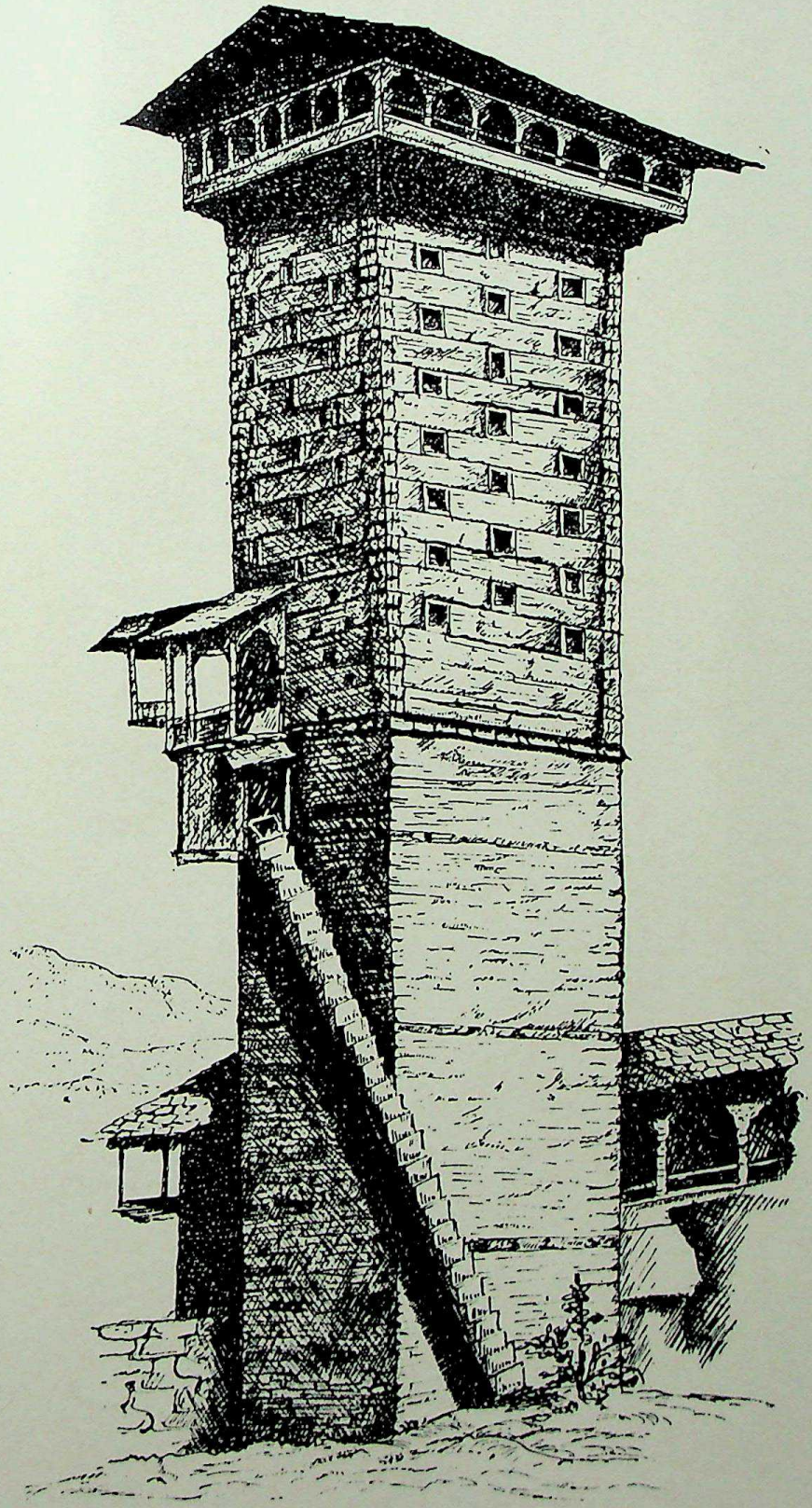

Yogni temple,
V. Chaini (Inner Saraj), Kulu.
Sketch : O.C. Handa.

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Dhanu Deota temple,
V. Bihar near Simla.
Sketch : W.L.L. Scott *Views in the Himalayas*, 1852.

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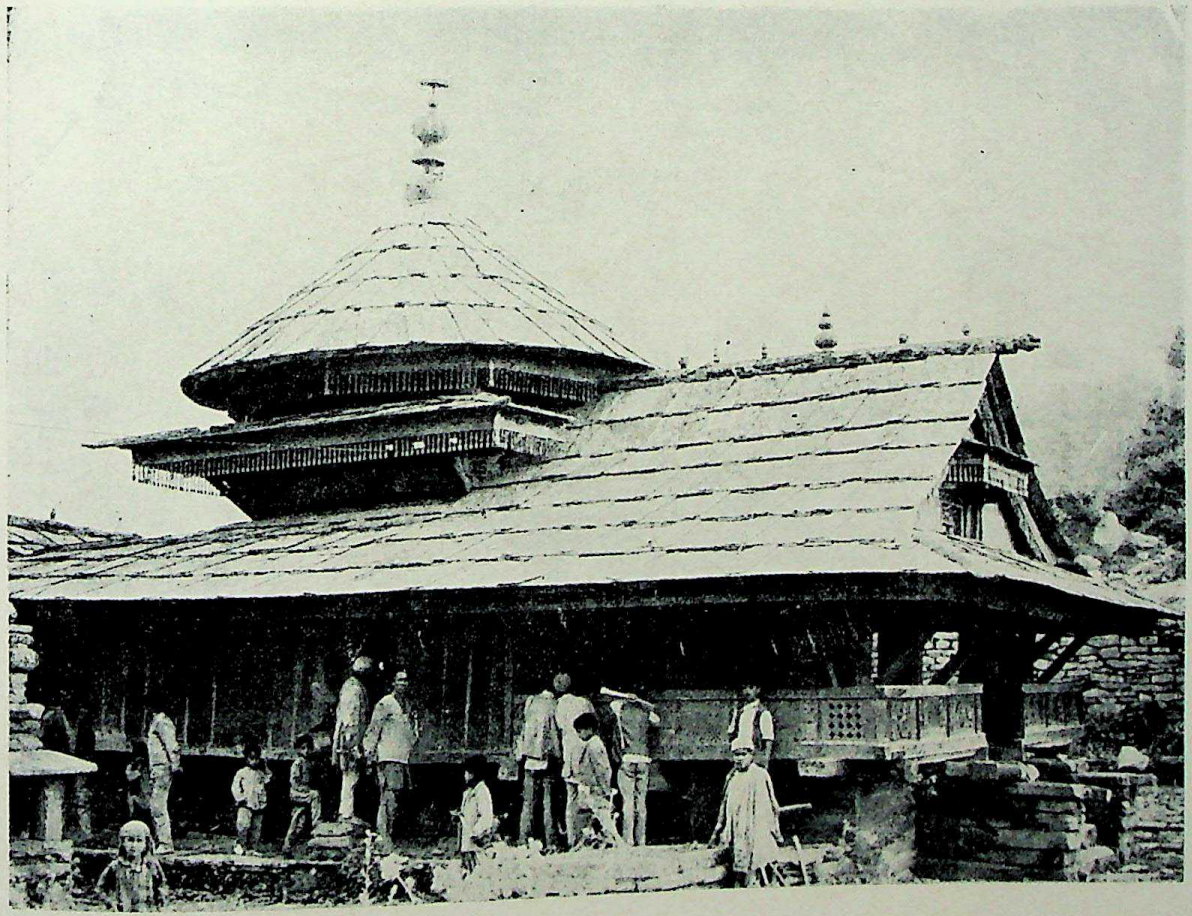

Jageshwar Mahadev temple,
V. Dalash, (Outer Saraj), Kulu.
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.

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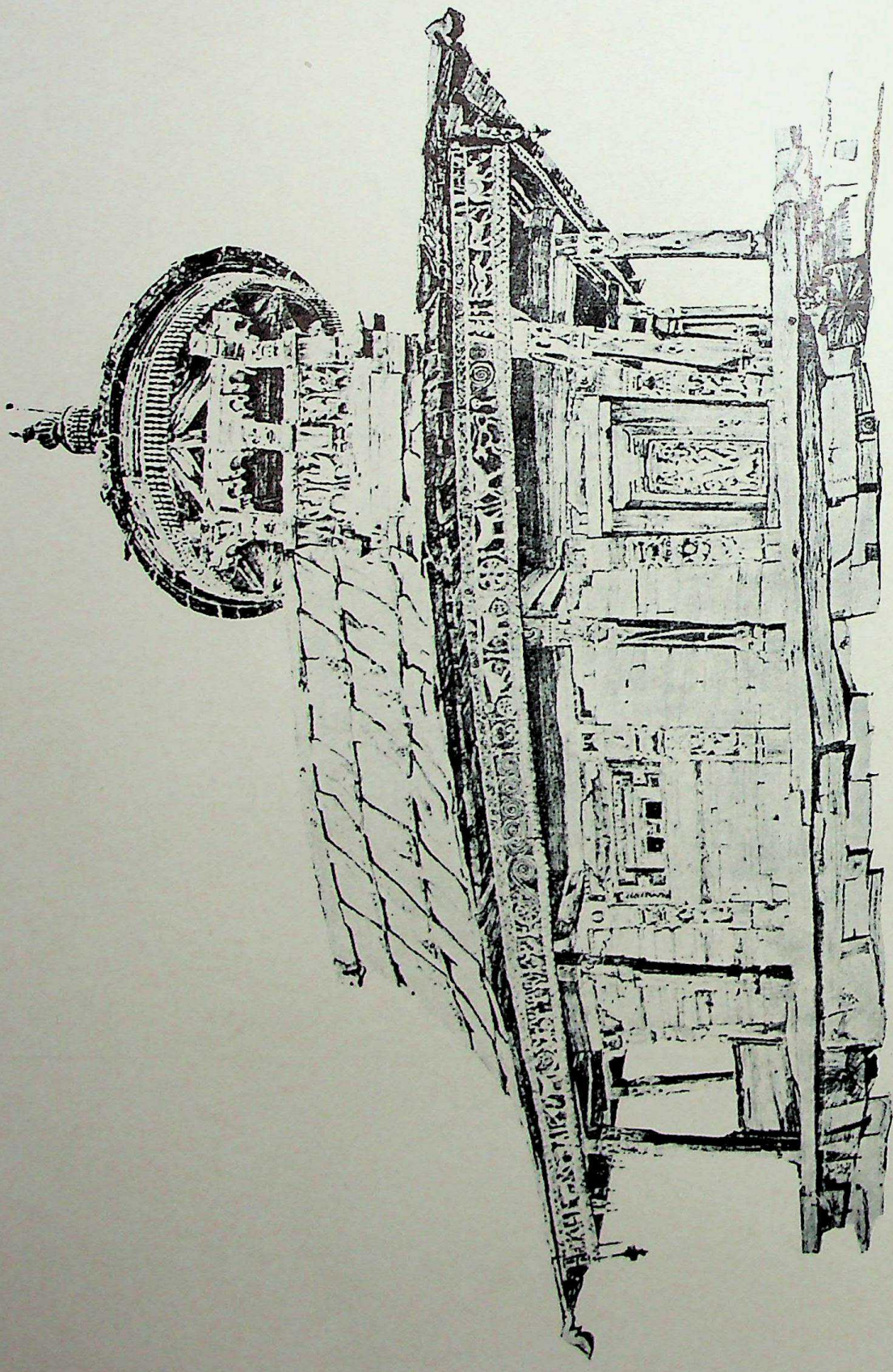

Dhaneshwari Devi temple,
V. Nithar Dhanah (Outer Saraj), Kulu.
Sketch : John Nankivell : *The Architectural Review*,
February, 1973.

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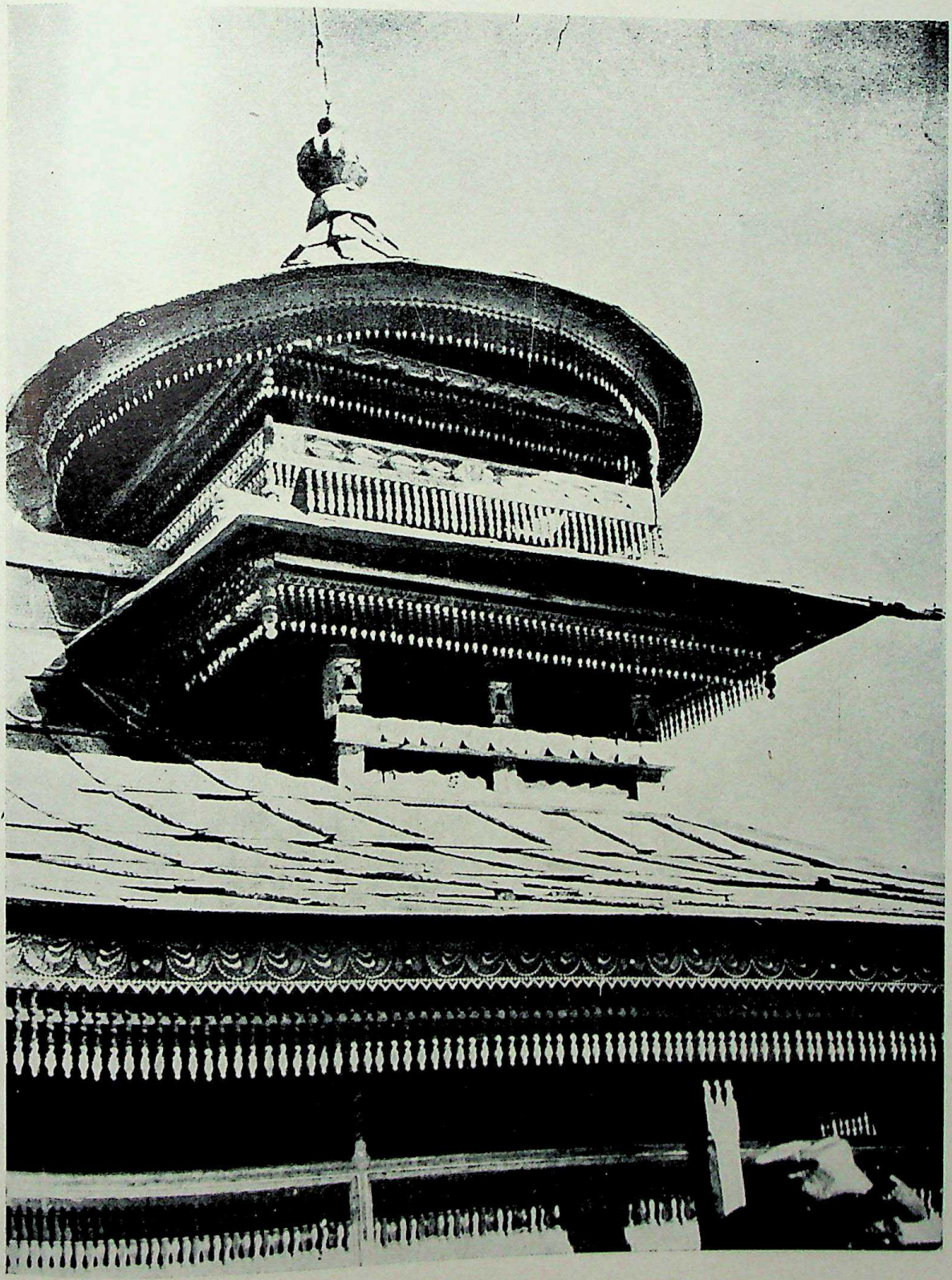

Deol (Durga temple,
V. Manan (Theog), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Sud.

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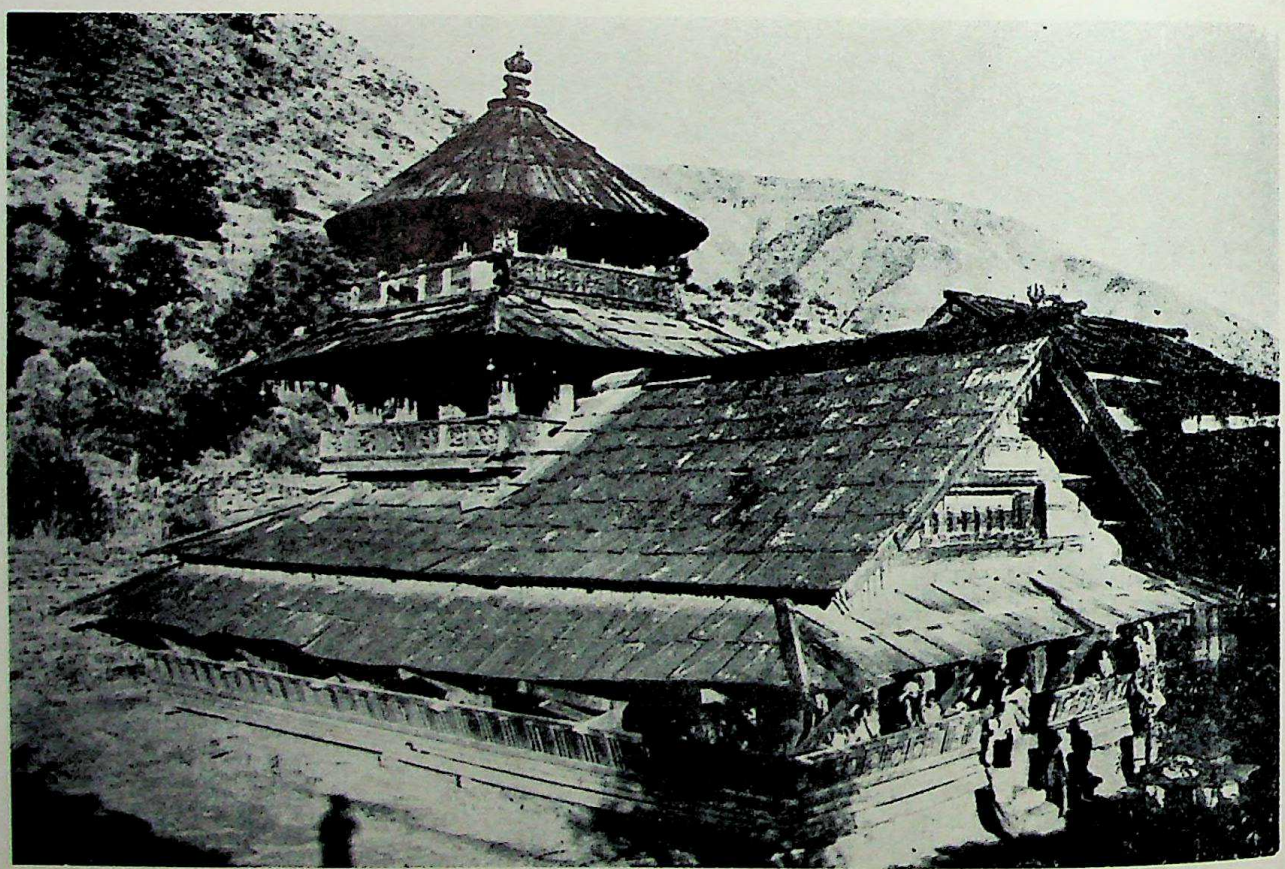

Baihna Mahadev temple,
V. Baihna (Outer Saraj). Kulu.
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.

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Mahishasurmardani (locally called *Hateshwari*) temple,
V. Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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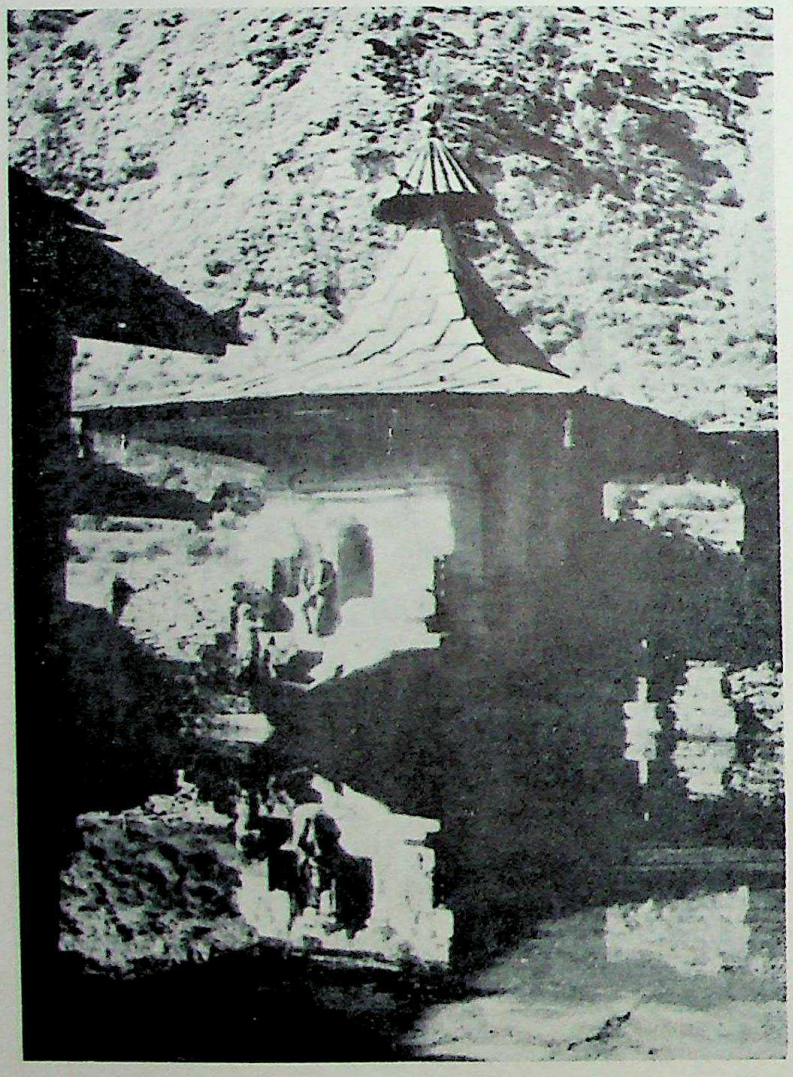
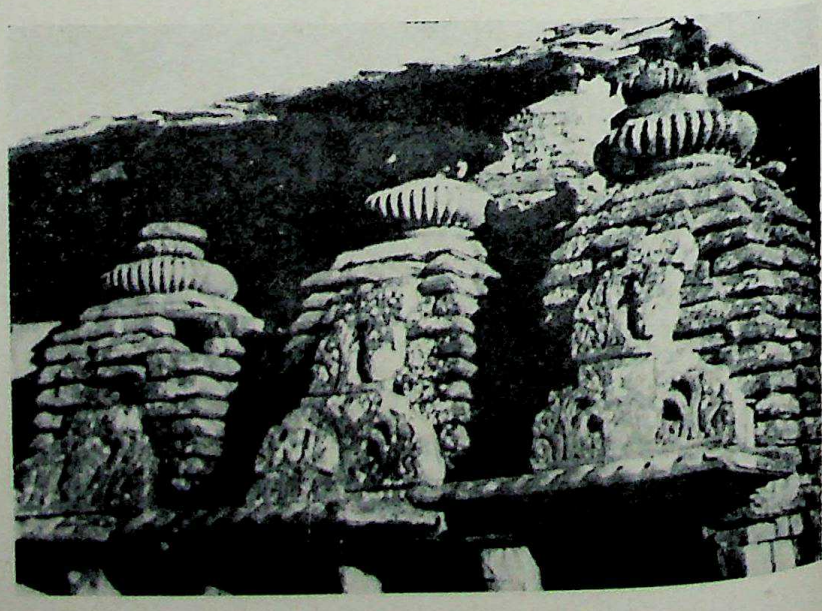


Shiva temple,
V. Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



Three Miniature temples (c. 8th century A.D.),
V. Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : Author.

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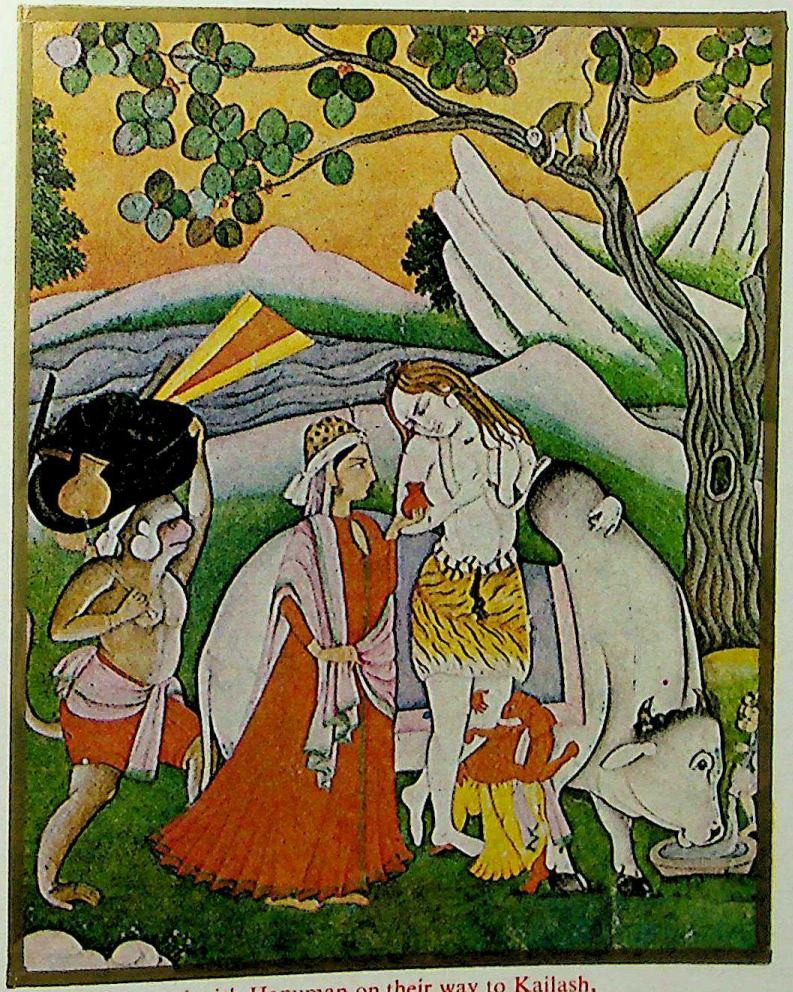

Shiva and Parvati with Hanuman on their way to Kailash,
Chamba, 19th century.
Collection and Photo O.C. Sud.

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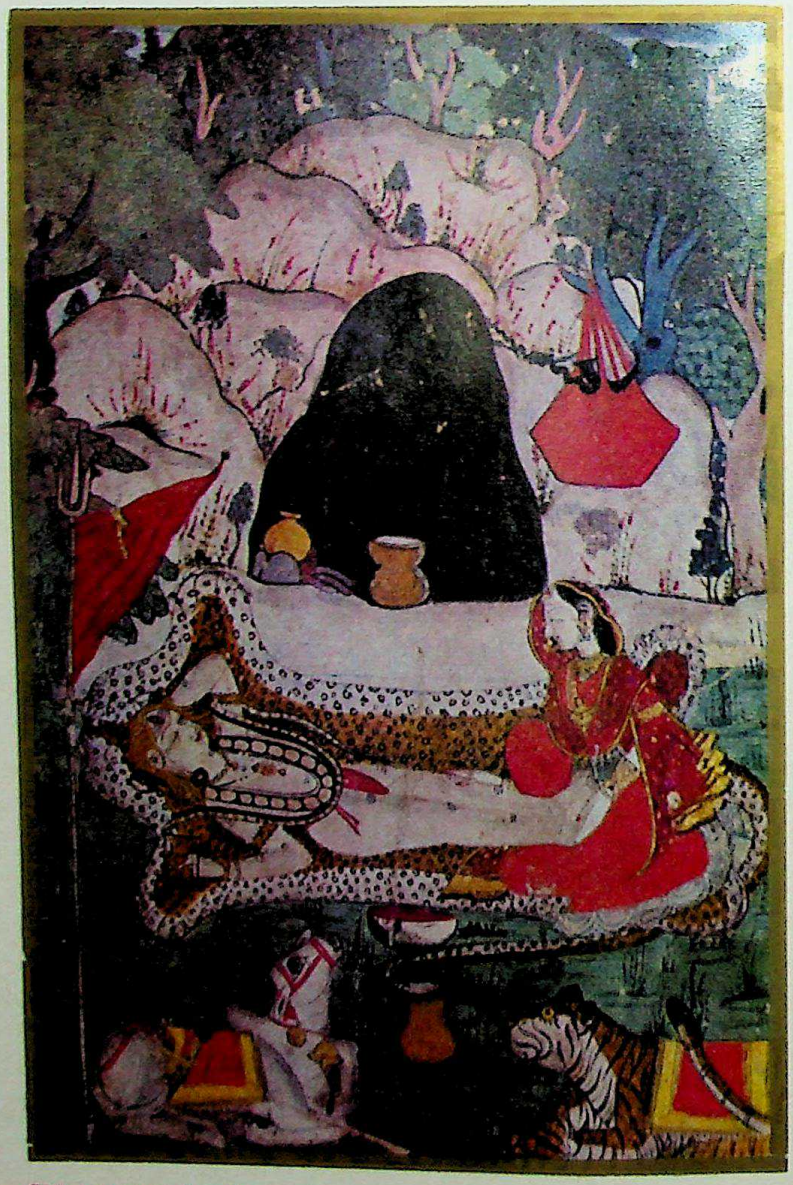

Shiva as cave deweller,
Kulu, 19th century.
Collection and Photo O.C. Sud.

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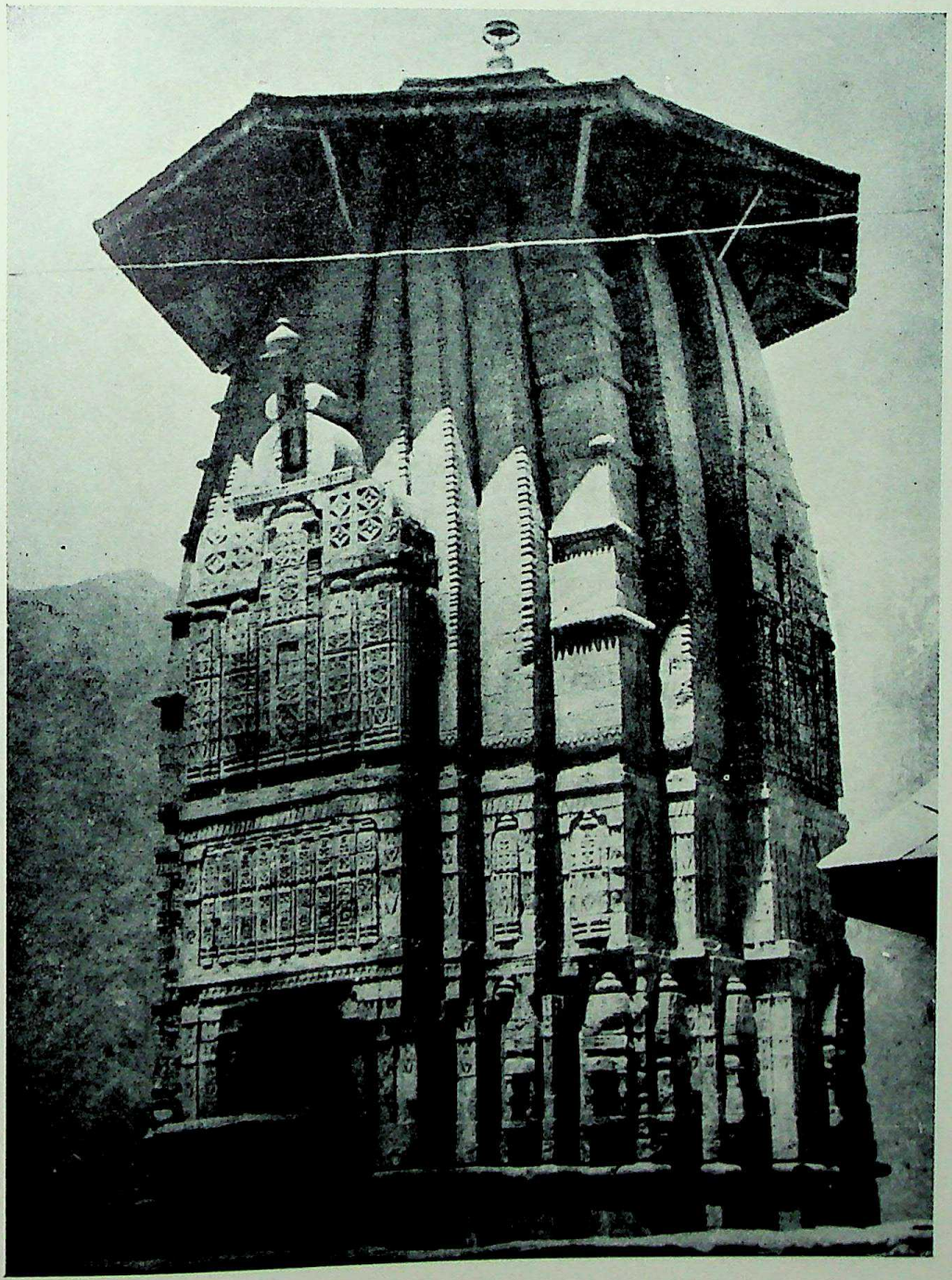

Manimahesh temple (c. 7th century A.D.),
V. Brahmaur, Chamba.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Shiva as cave deweller,
Kulu, 19th century.
Collection and Photo O.C. Sud.

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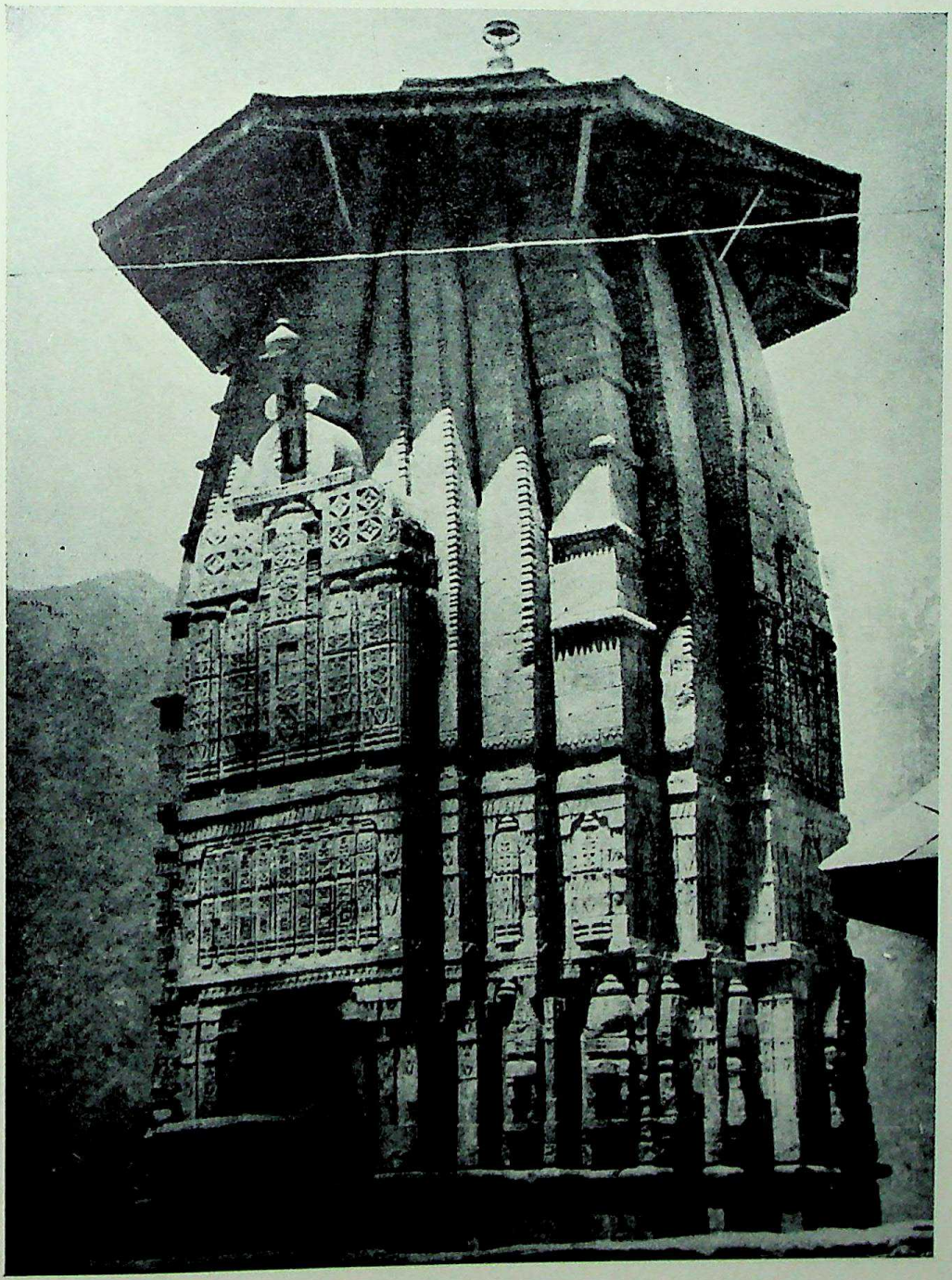

Manimahesh temple (c. 7th century A.D.),
V. Brahmaur, Chamba.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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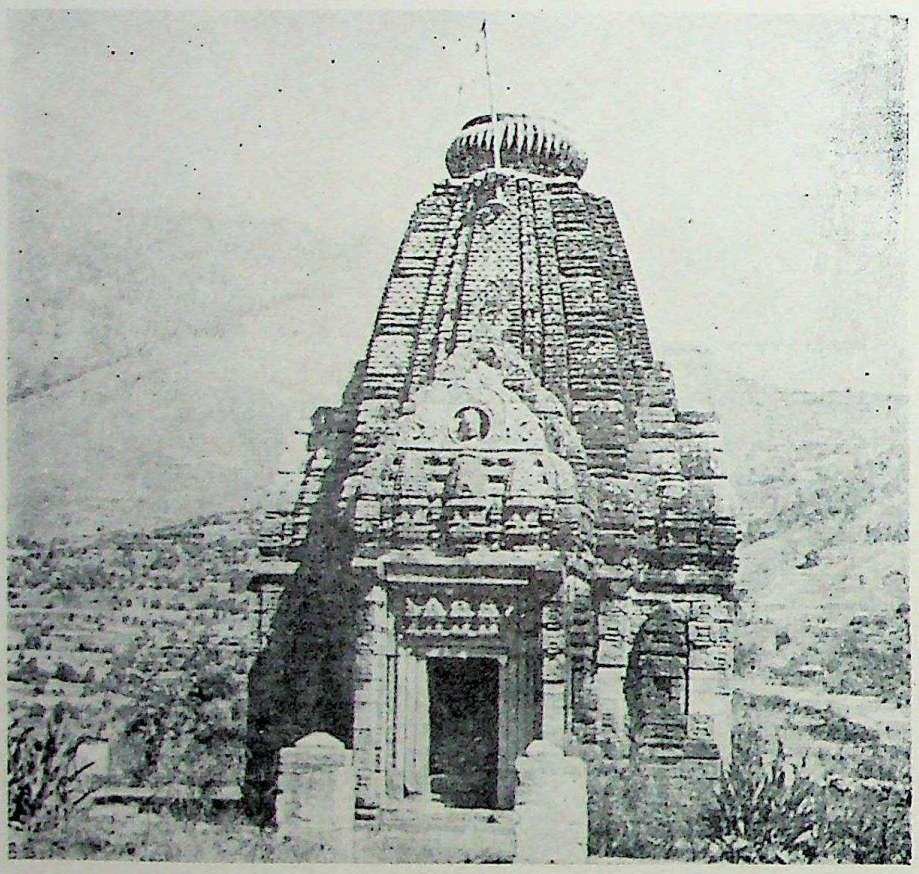

(a) Visheshwar Mahadev temple (c. 8th century A.D.),
V. Bajaura, Kulu.
Photo · Himachal Tourism Corp.

(b) Shiva temple (c. 8th century A.D.)
V. Sawara near Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : Himachal State Museum.

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Detail on Surya temple. (c. 8th century A.D.),
V. Nirath near Rampur Bashahr, Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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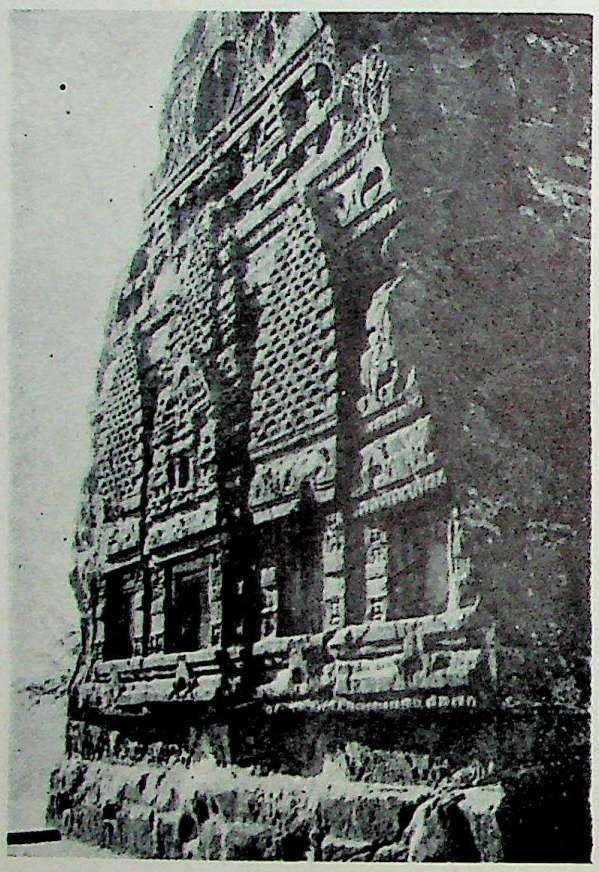

(a) Rock-cut Shiva temple (8th century A.D.), Masrur., Kangra.
Photo : Arch. Survey of India.

(b) Minor temples (c. 8th century A.D.), V. Prahat near Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : Himachal State Museum.

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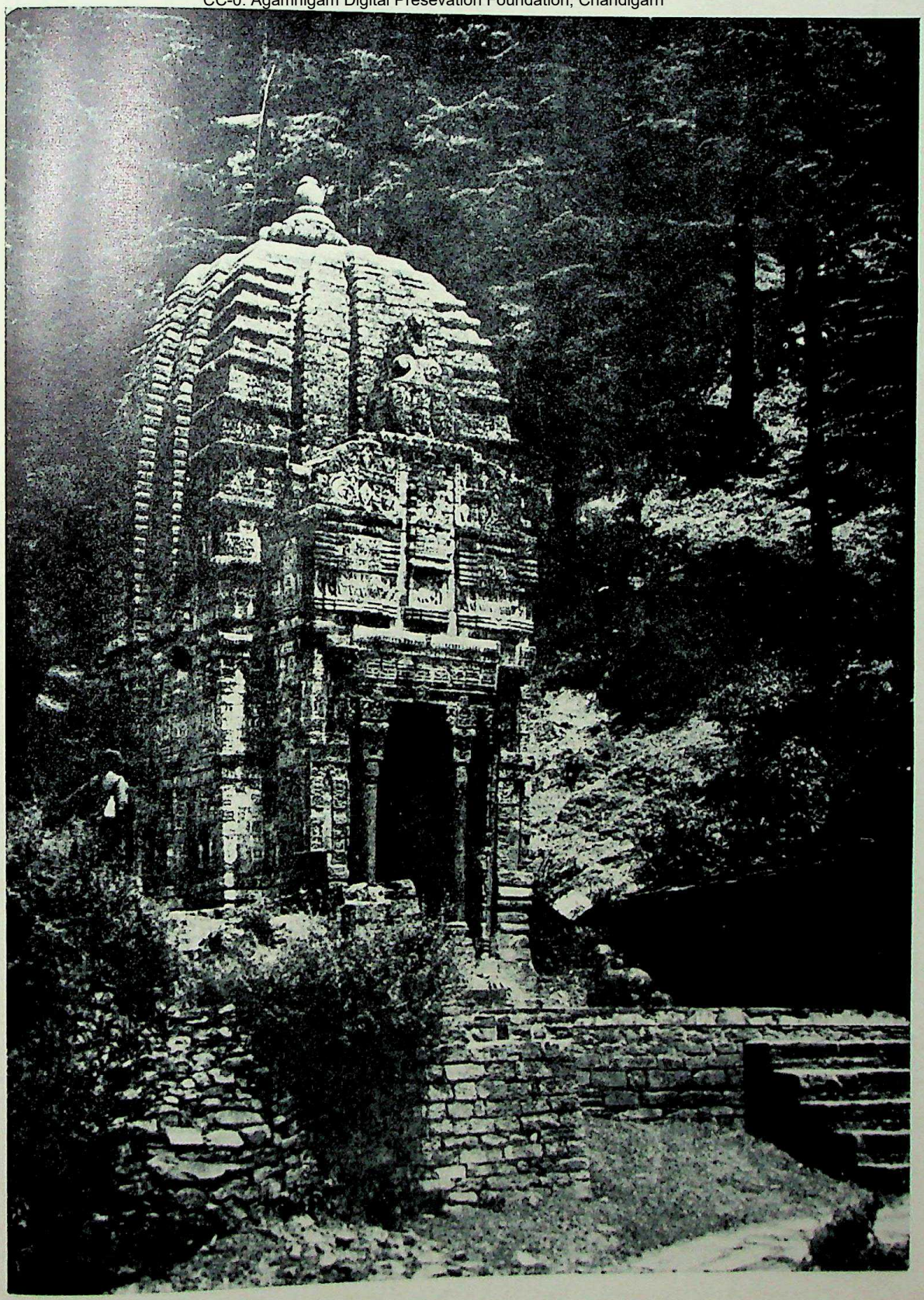

Gauri shanker temple (c. 8th-9th century A.D.),
V. Dashal, Kulu.
Photo : Dr. Pushpa Bindra.

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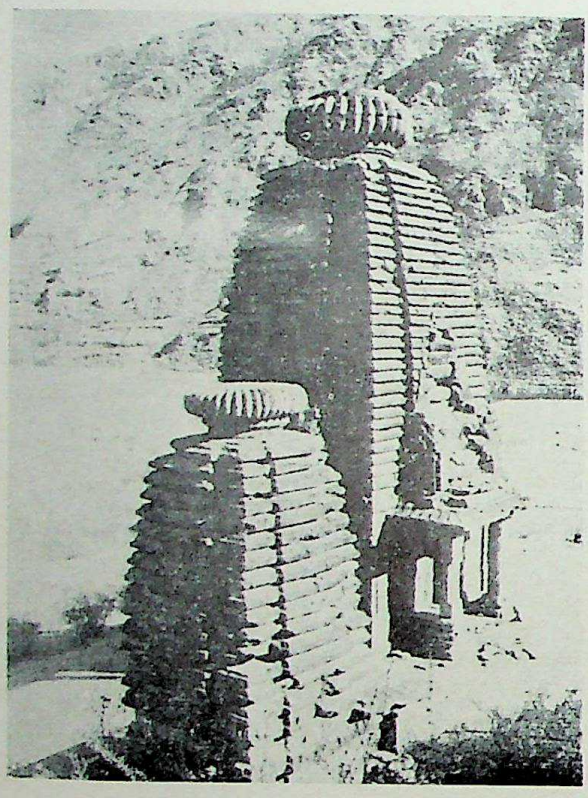
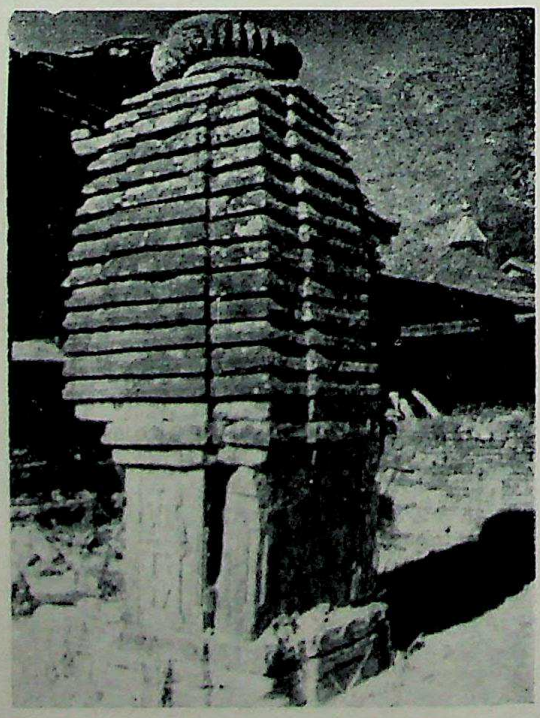


Minor temples (c, 8th century A.D.)
V. Prahat near Hatkoti (Jubbal). Simla Hills.
Photo : Himachal State Museum.



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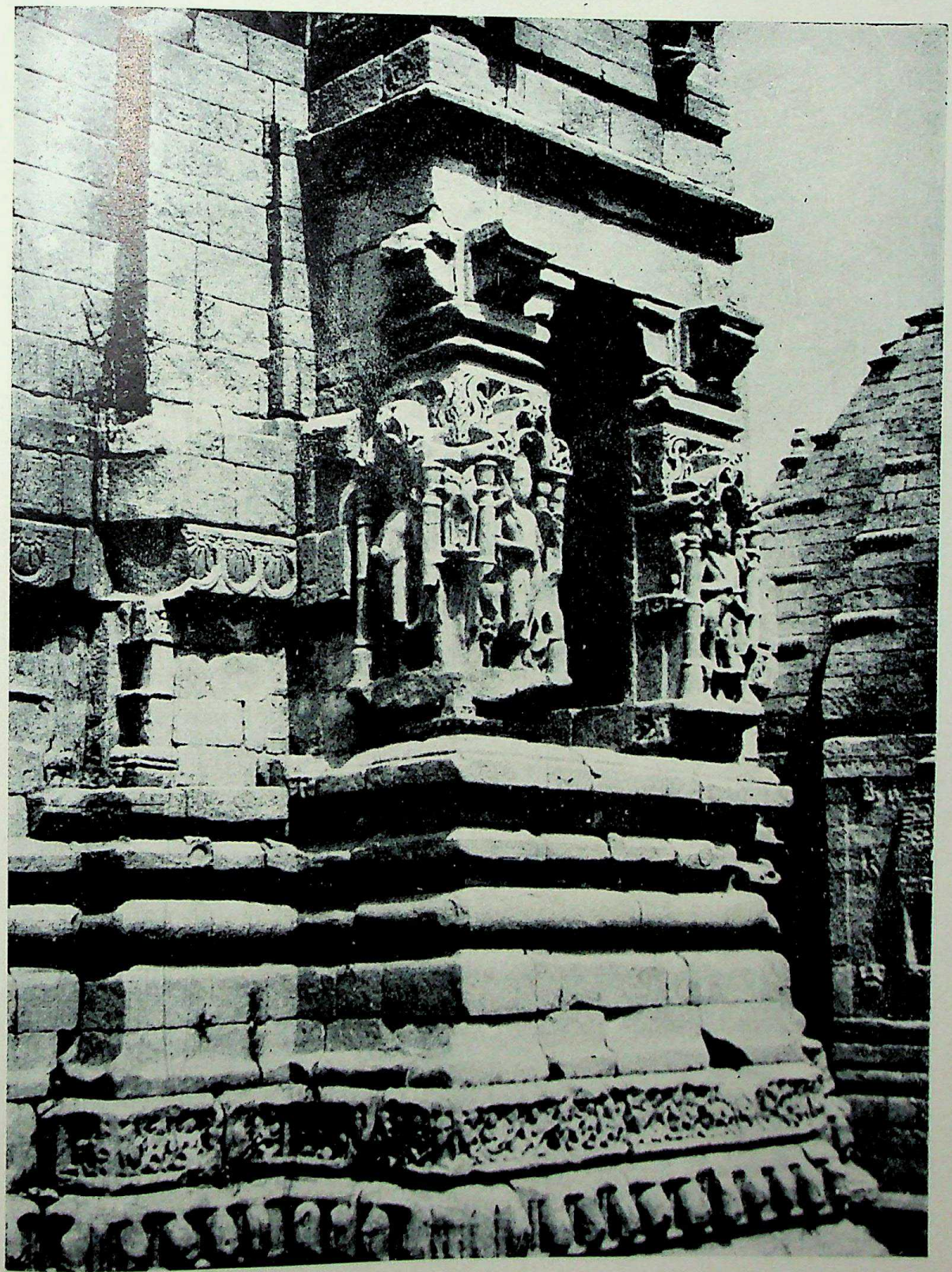

Rangnath temple (c. 9th century A.D.),
Old Bilaspur, Bilaspur town.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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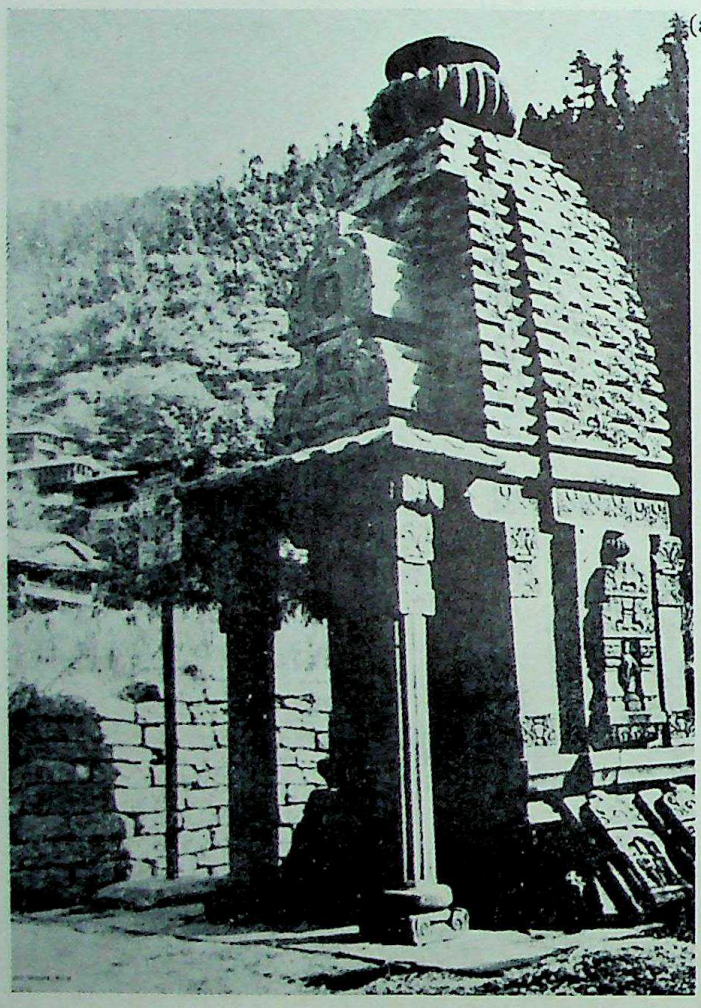
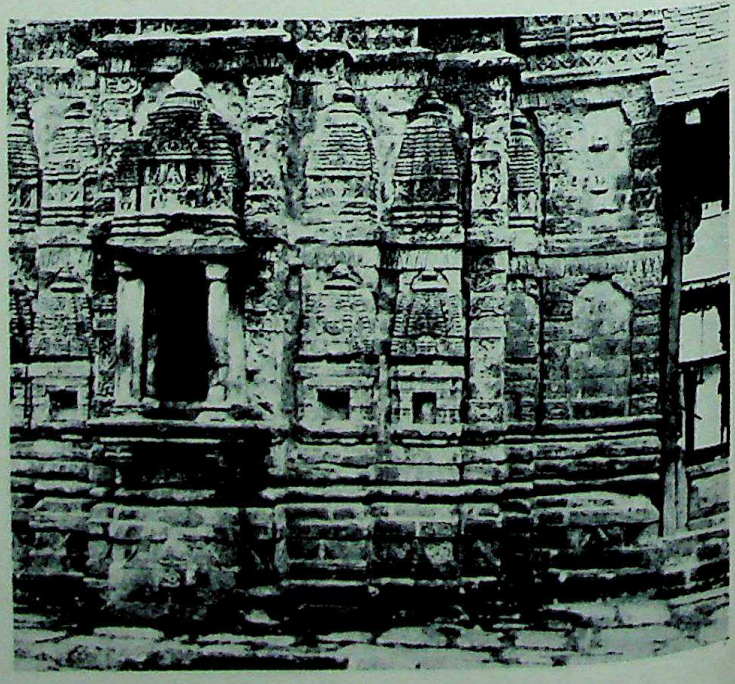


(a) Shiva temple (c. 9th century A.D.),
V. Jagatsukh, Kulu.
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.



(b) Details on the side wall of Vajreshwari Devi temple
(c. 10th century A.D),
Chamba town, Chamba.
Photo : Himachal State Museum.

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Ras Lila,
Collection : Author.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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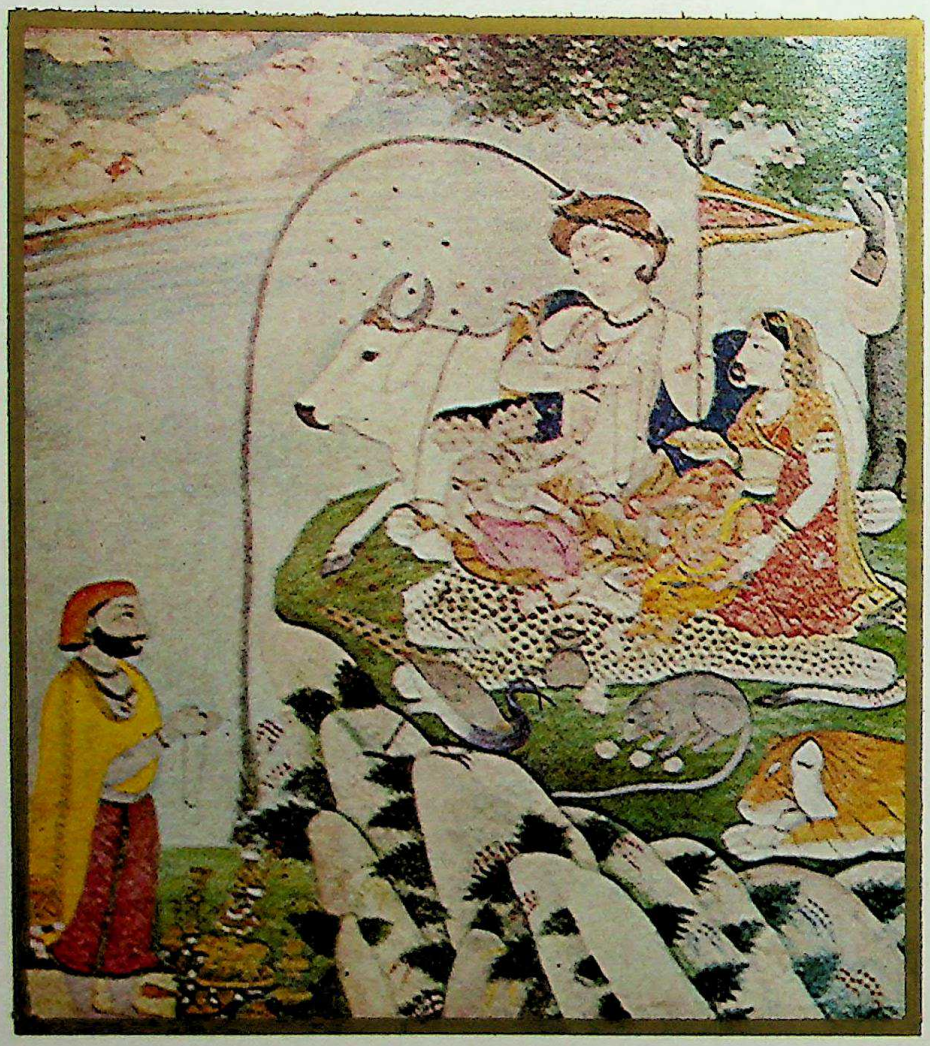

Shiva with family,
Kangra, 19th century.
Collection and Photo : O.C. Sud.

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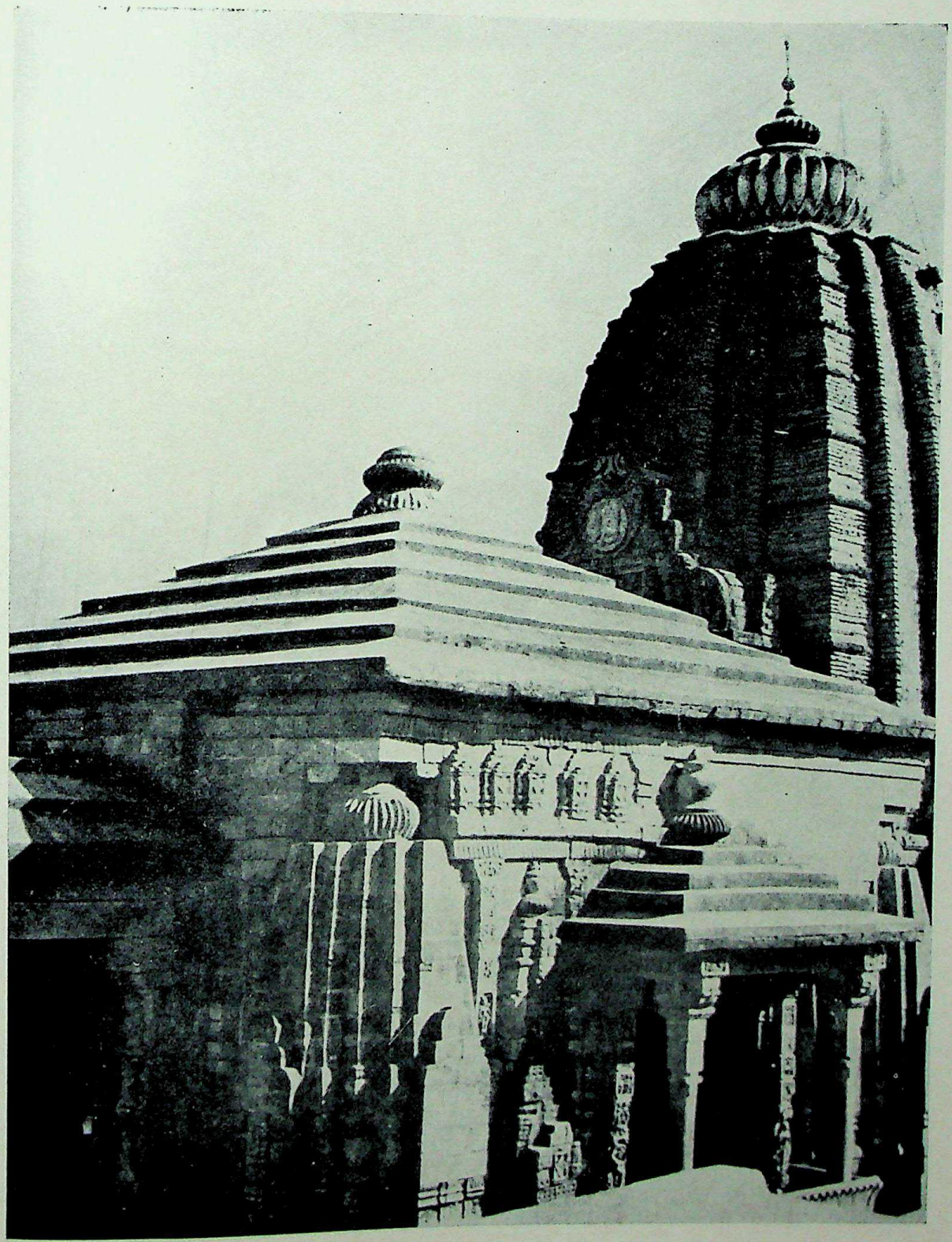

Vaidyanath temple (1204 A.D.),
Baijnath, Kangra.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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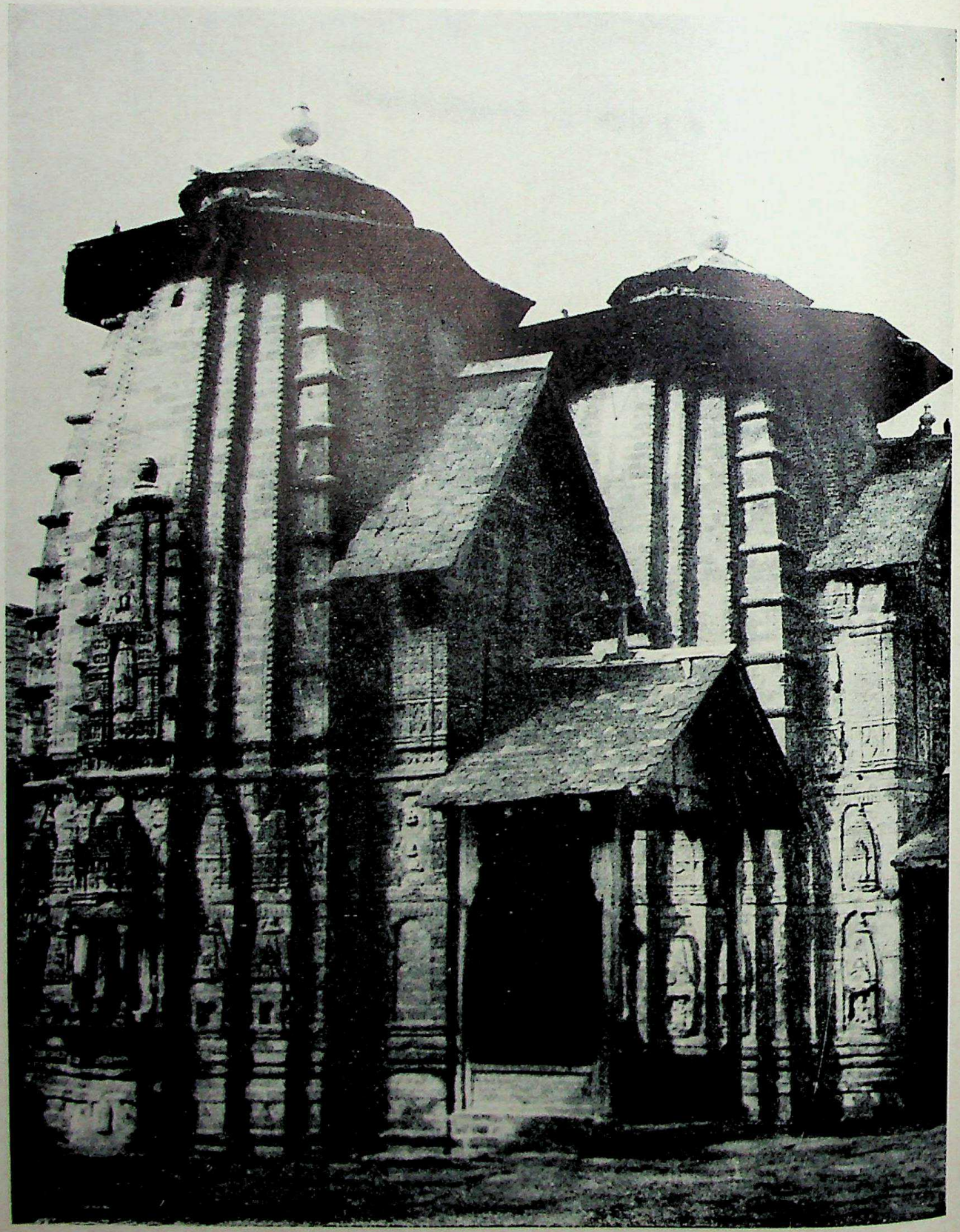

Lakshmi-Narayan temple complex. (c. 10th century A.D.),
Built by Raja Sahila-Varman C. 920-940 A.D.
Chamba town, Chamba.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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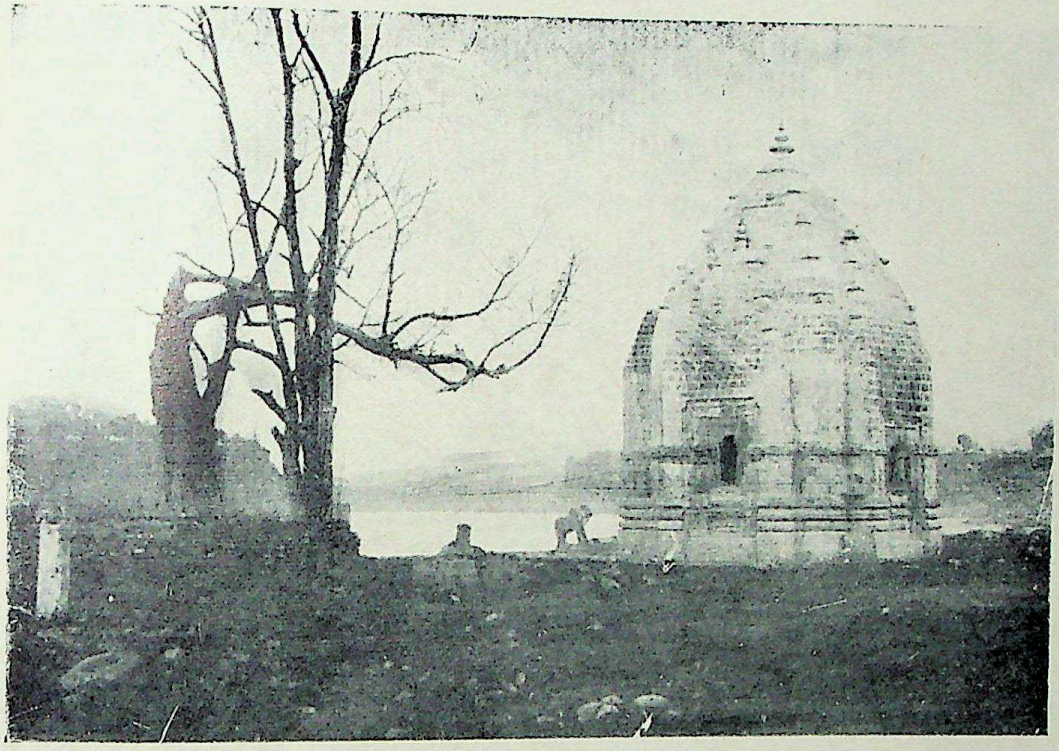
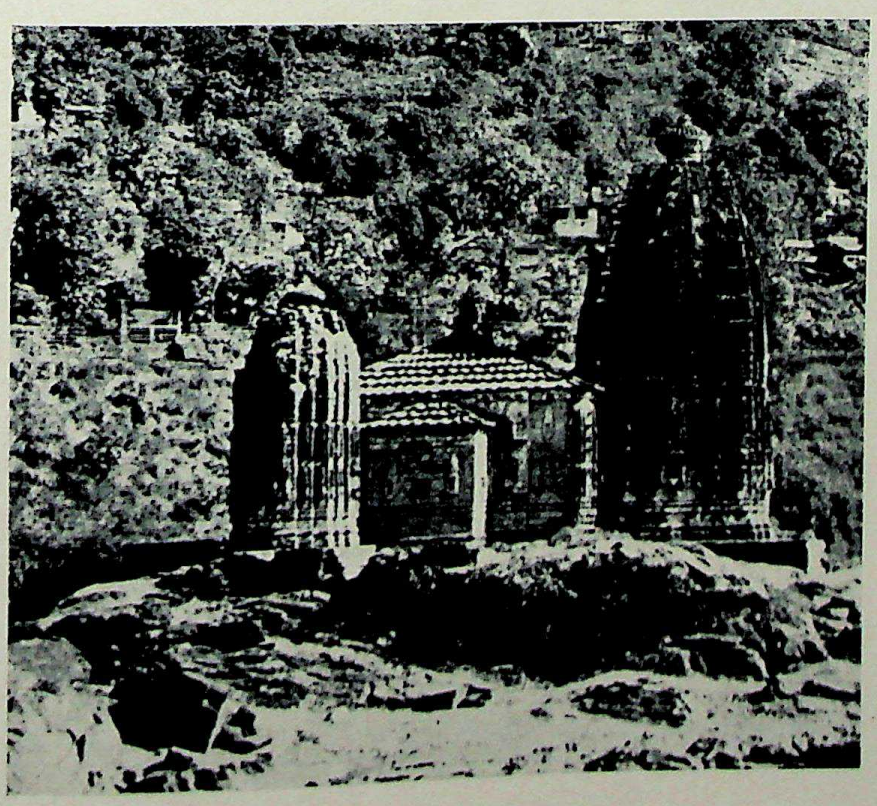


(a) Shanmukheshwara temple (c. 9th-10th century A.D.)
Old Bilaspur, Bilaspur town.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Panchavaktr Mahadev temple (c. 15th century A.D.),
Mandi town, Mandi.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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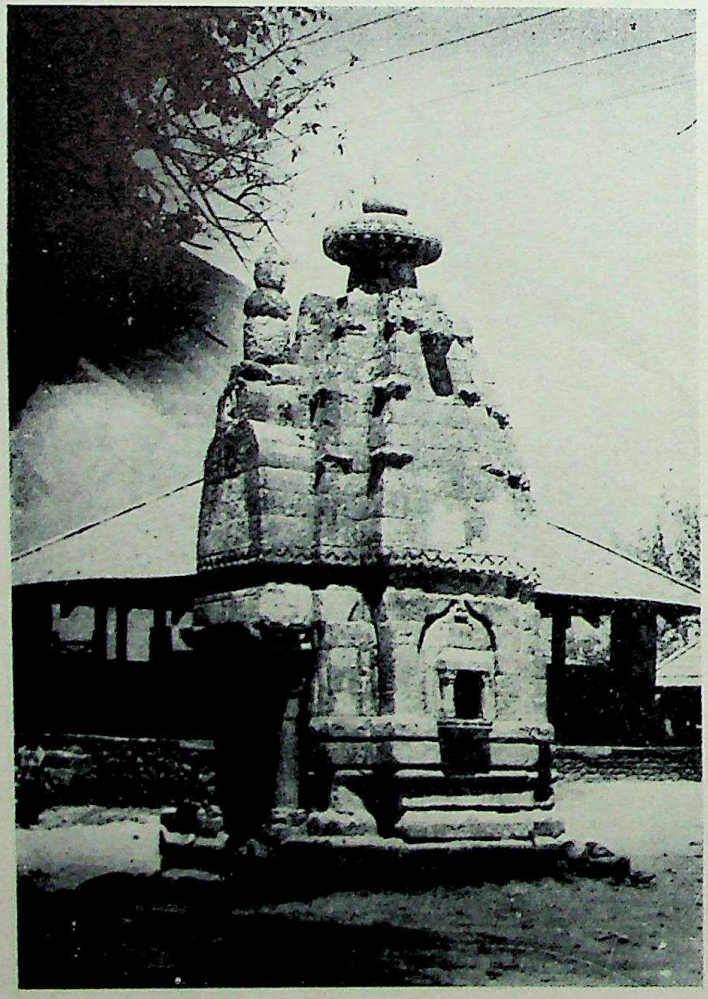

Sidha temple (c. 10th century A.D.),
V. Brahmaur, Chamba.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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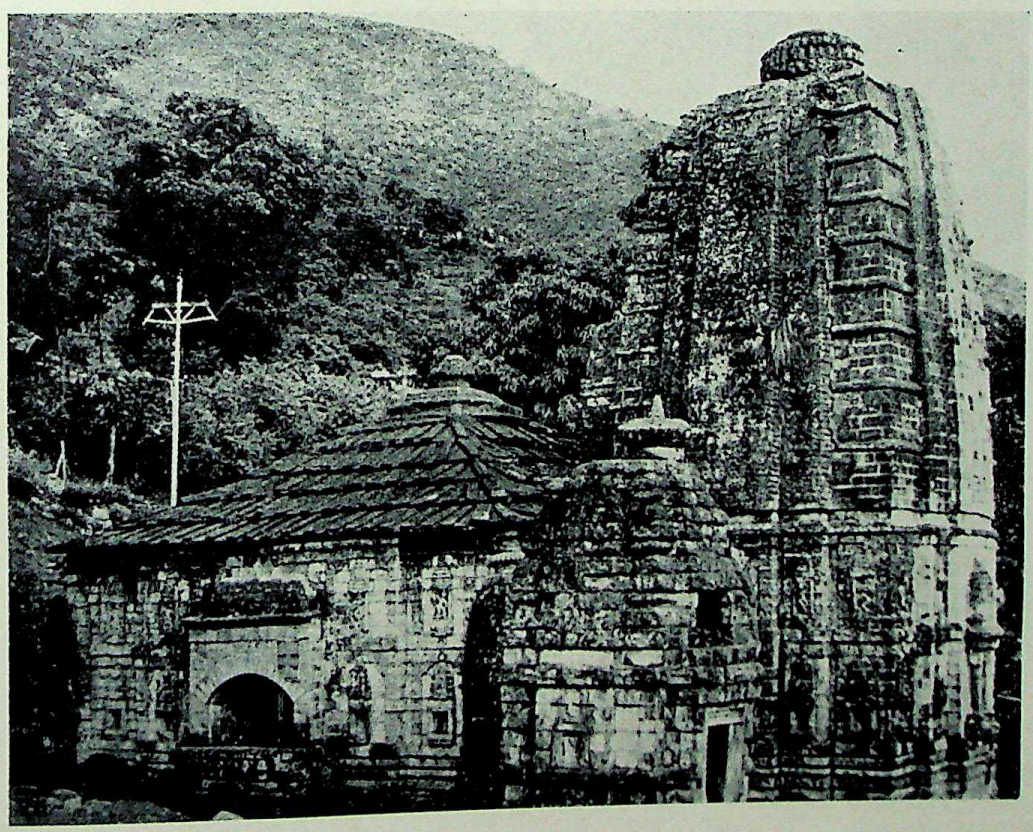

Trilokinath temple (1520 A.D.),
Purani Mandi, Mandi.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Miniature temple,
V. Delath (Rampur-Bashahr), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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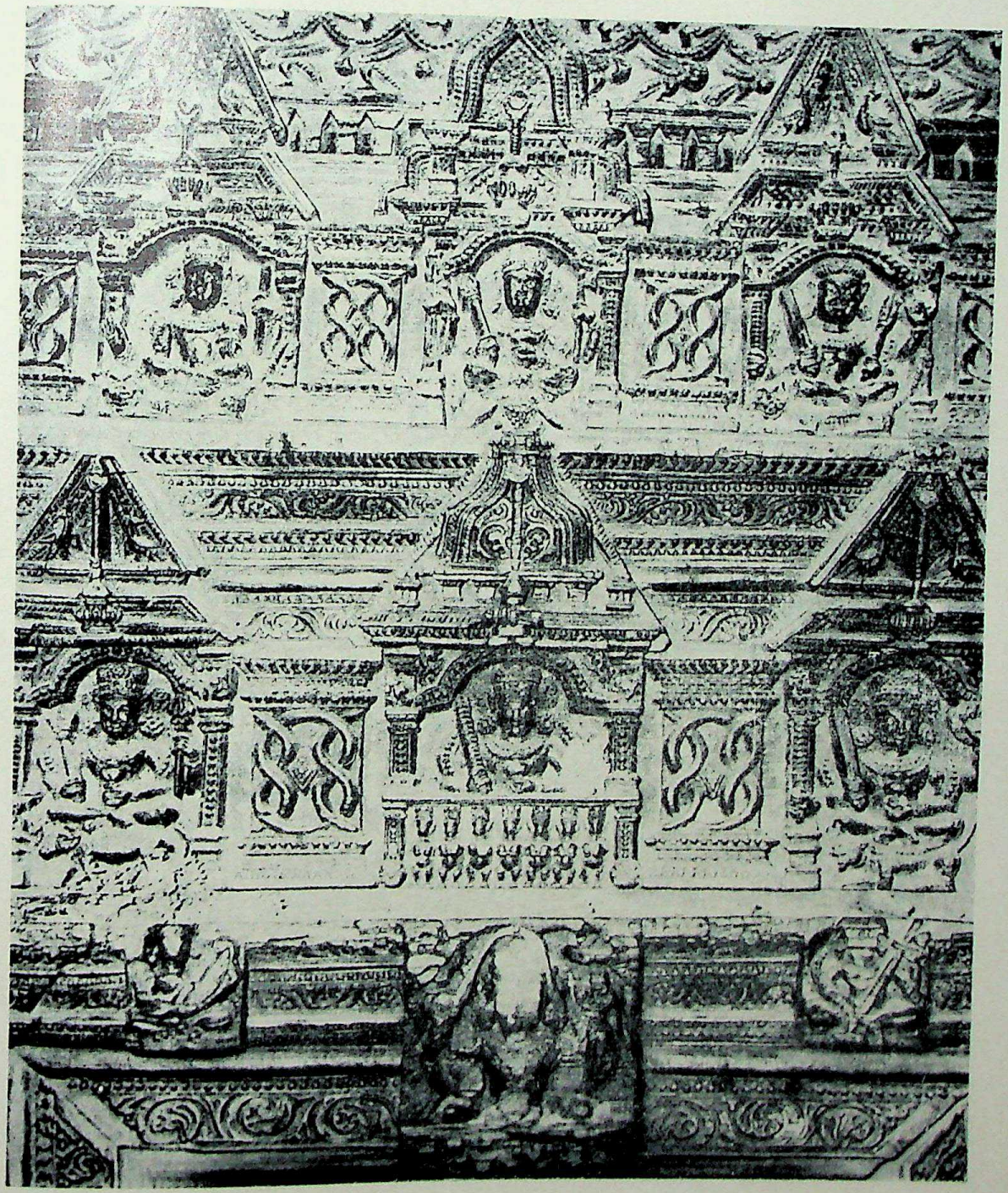

Profusely carved front wall of Kali temple,
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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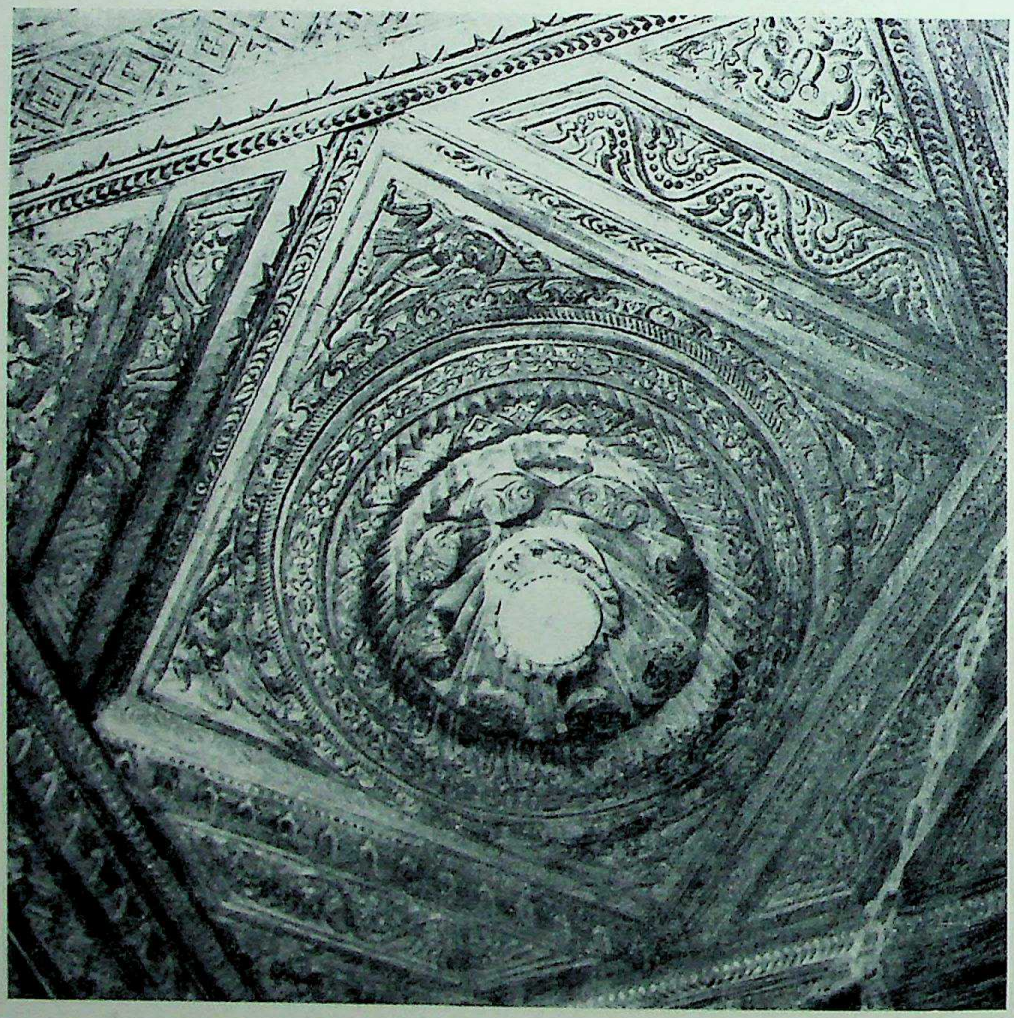
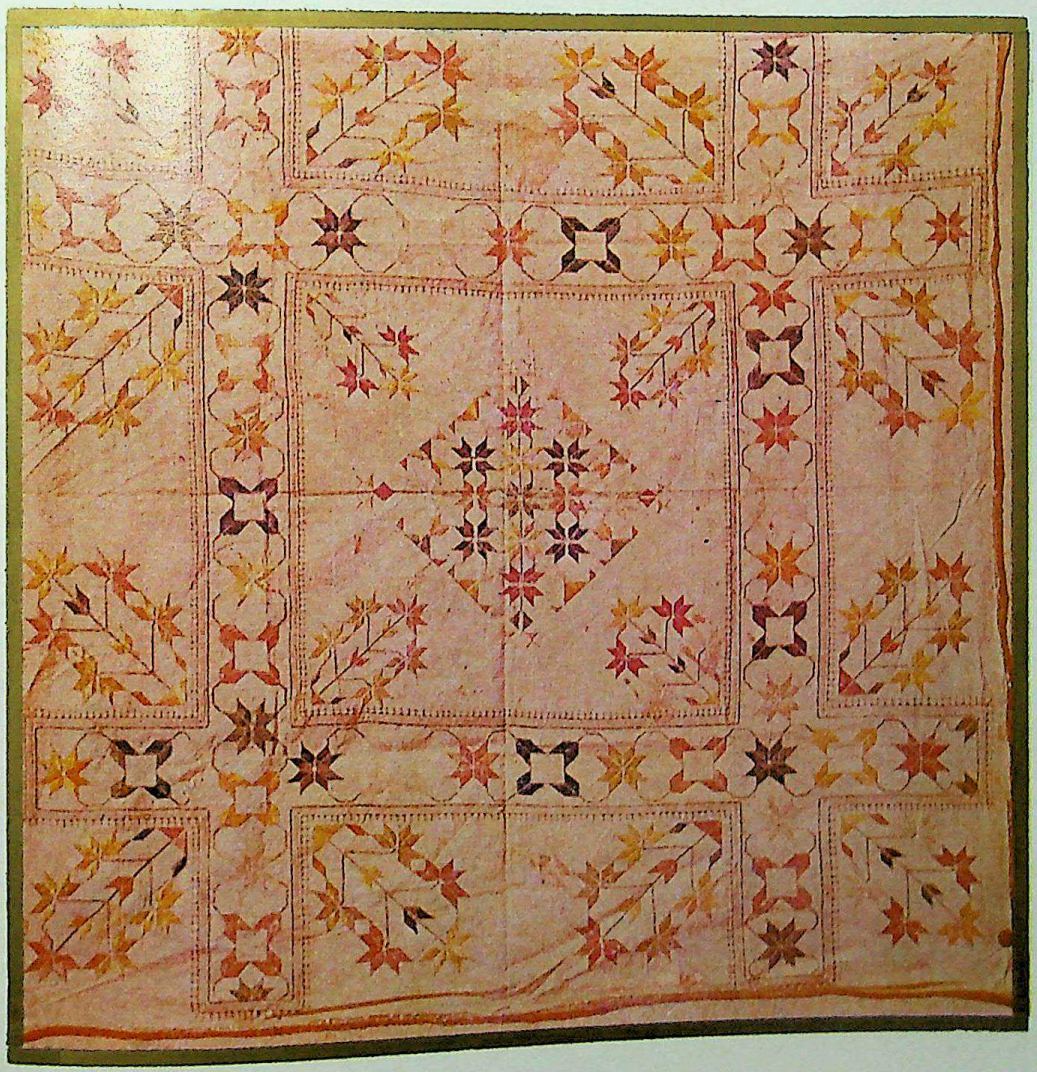


Carved ceiling of Kali temple,
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Floral Work,
Collection and photo : O.C. Handa.

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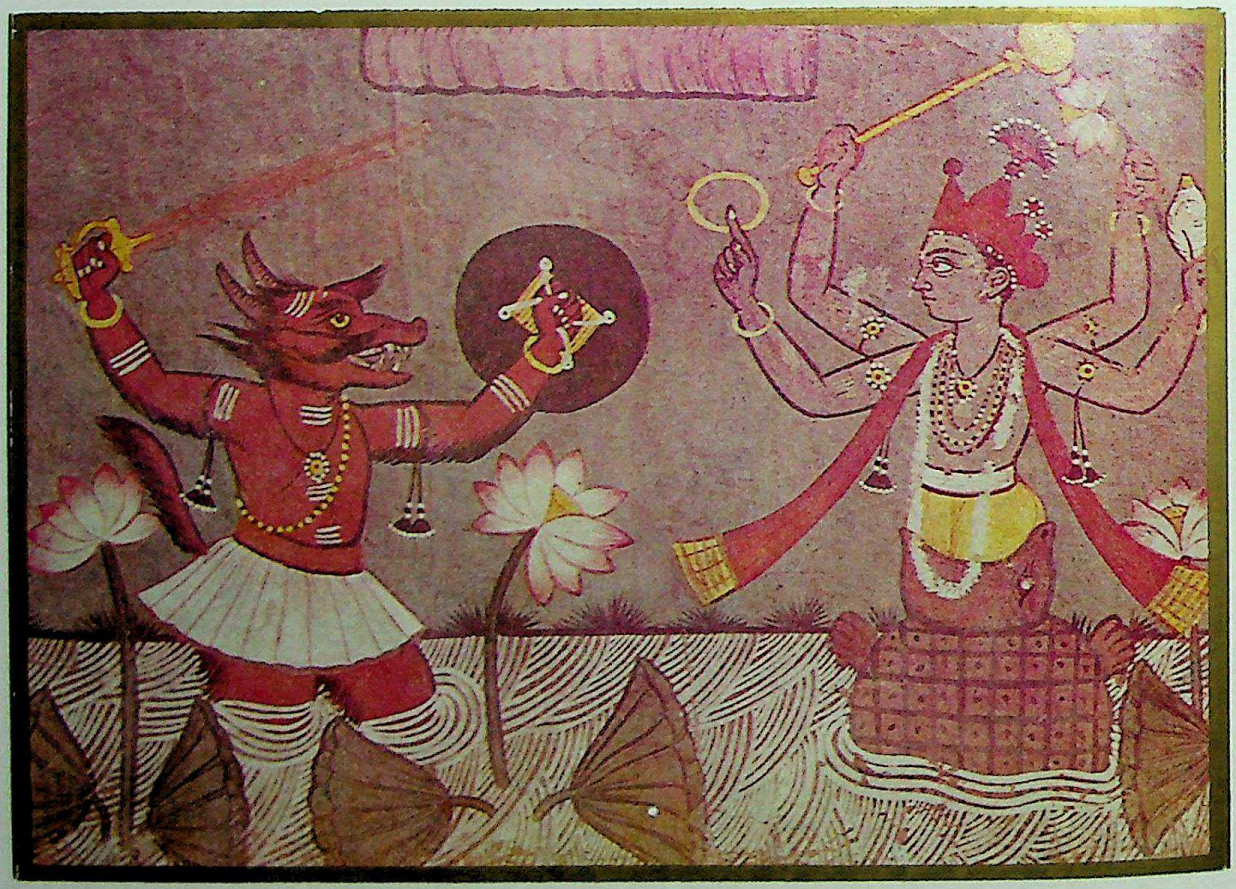
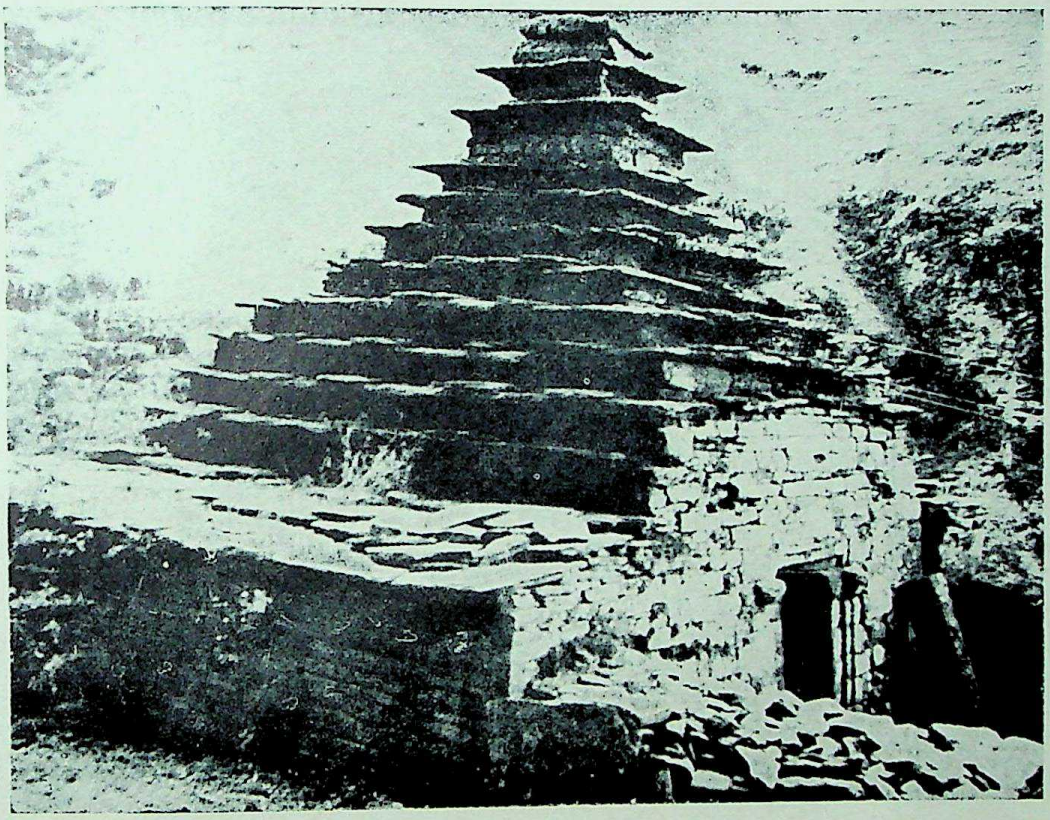
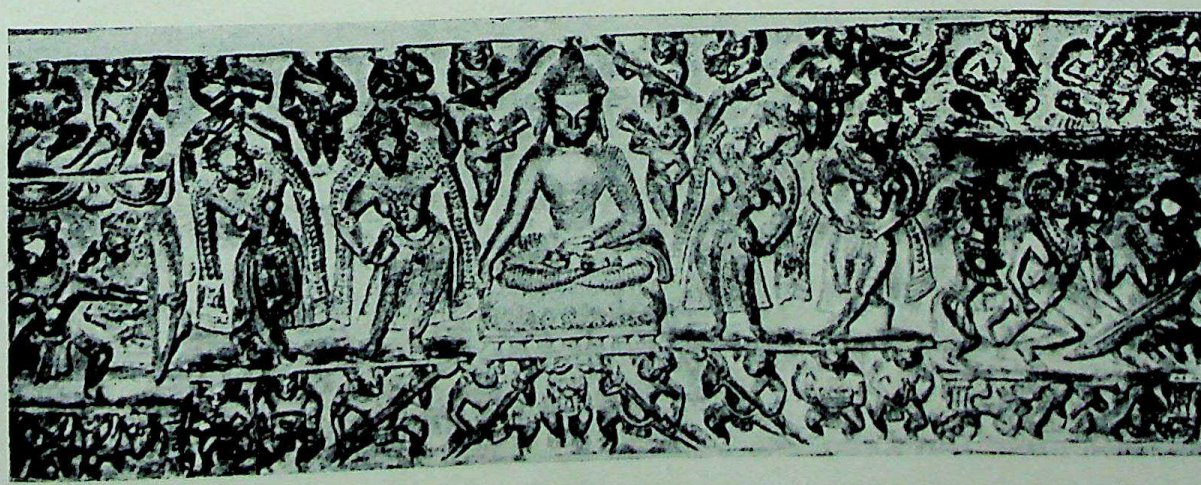


Kurma, the second incarnation of Mahavishnu, destroying Svarbhanu Asura.
Mandi, C. 18th century.
Collection : Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



(a) Shiva temple,
V, Dabhas (Chopal), Simla Hills.
Photo : Mangat.



(b) Wood carvings on the inner walls of Kali temple,
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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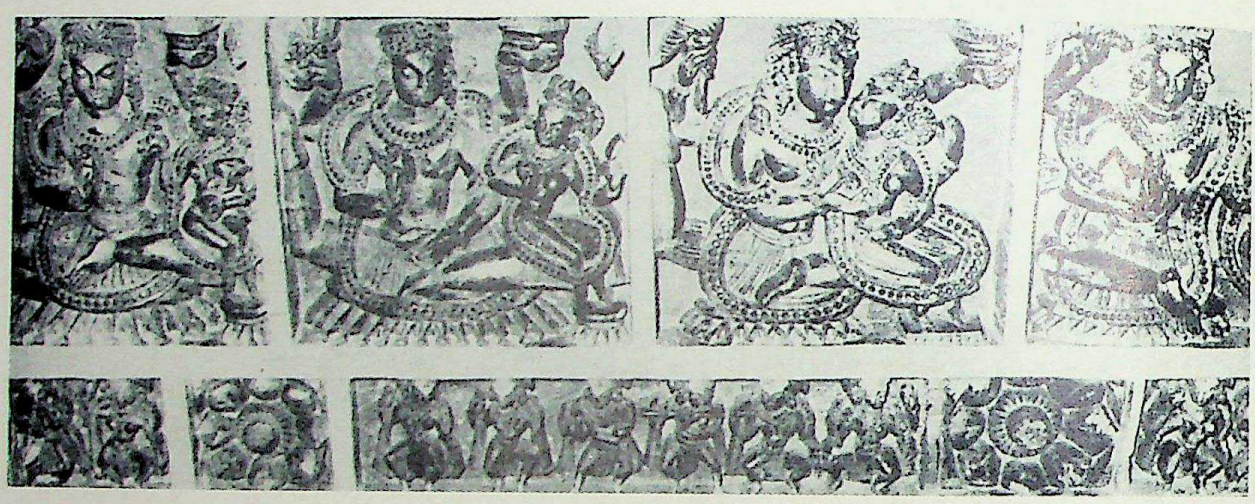
(a)



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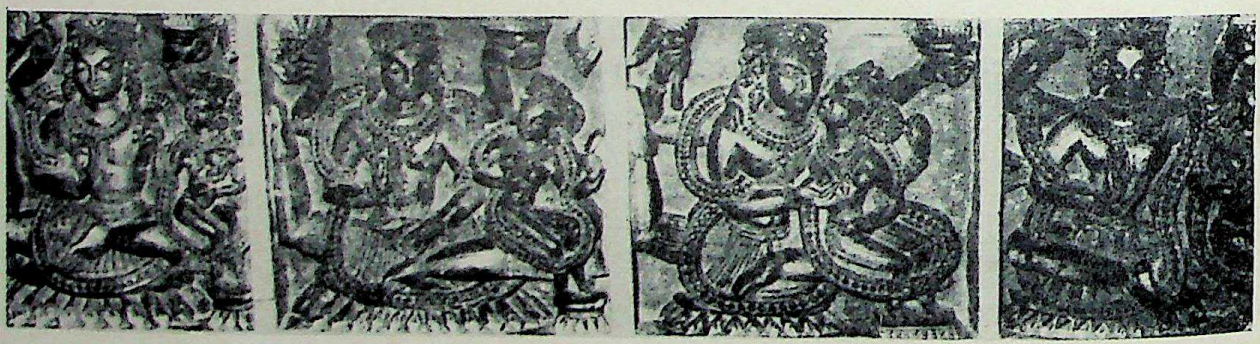

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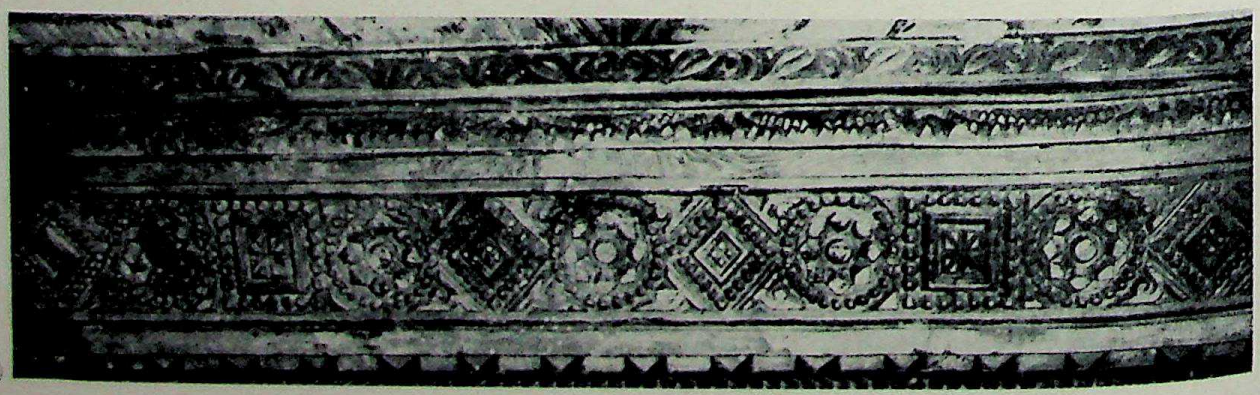

Wood carvings on the inner walls of Kali temple,
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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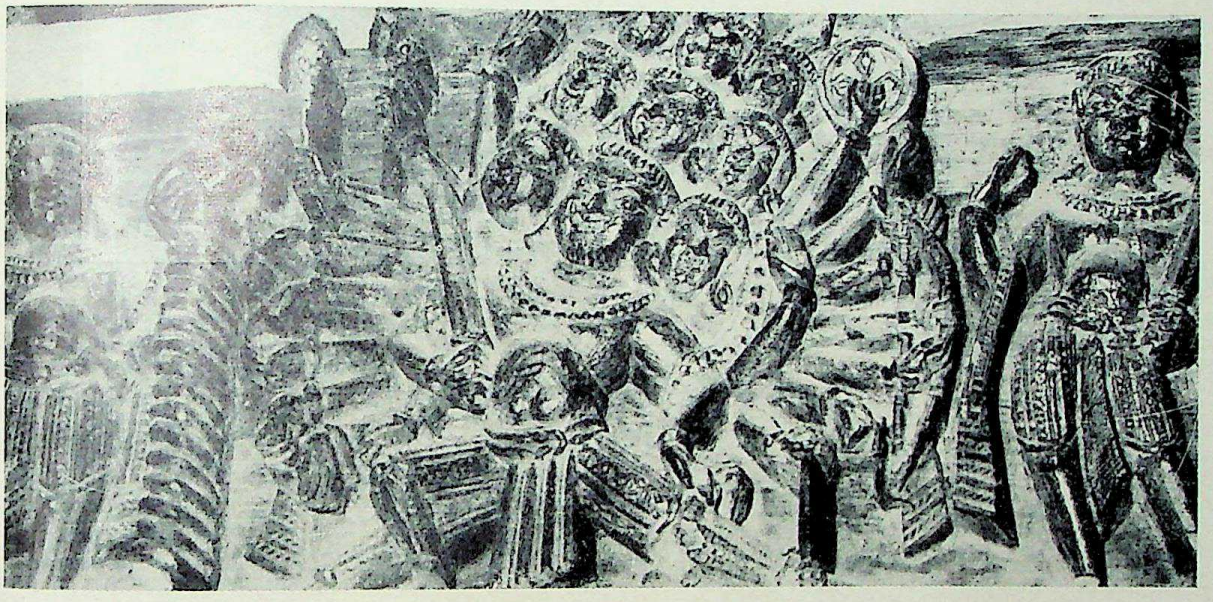

↑
Wood carvings on the inner walls of Kali temple,
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.
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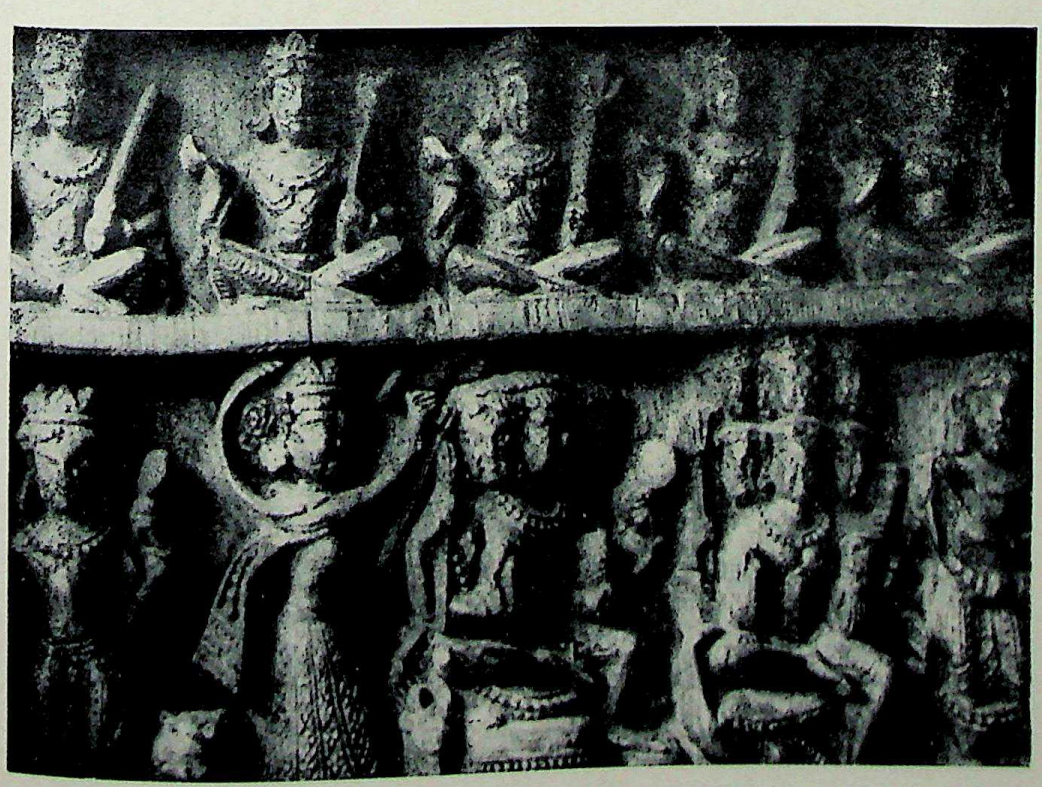

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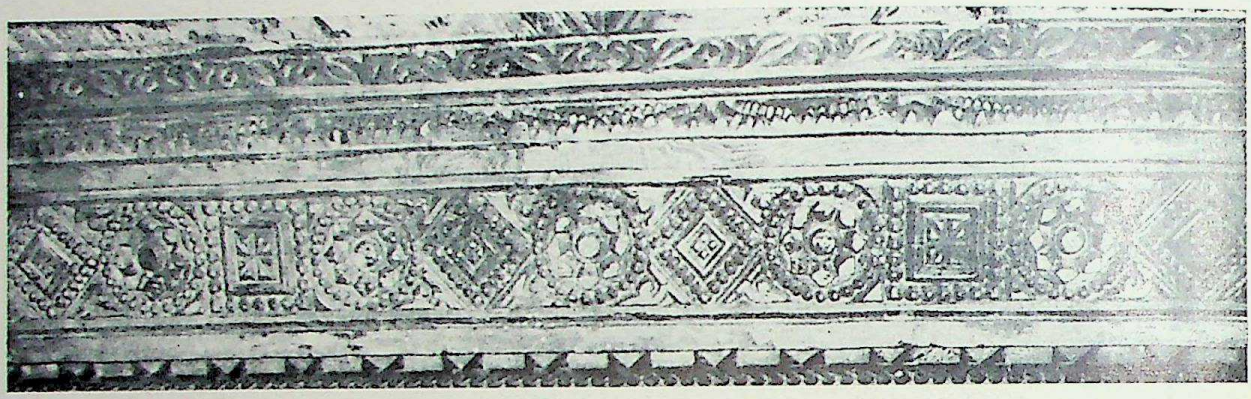
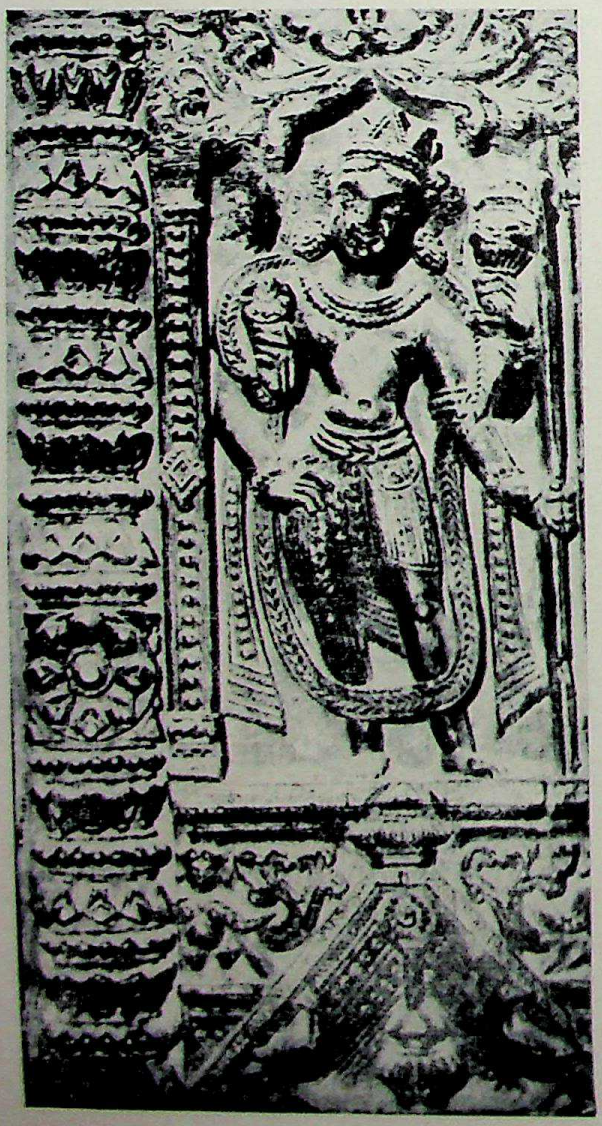


(a) Wood carvings on the inner walls of Kali temple,
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.



(b) Carved door-panel of Kali temple,
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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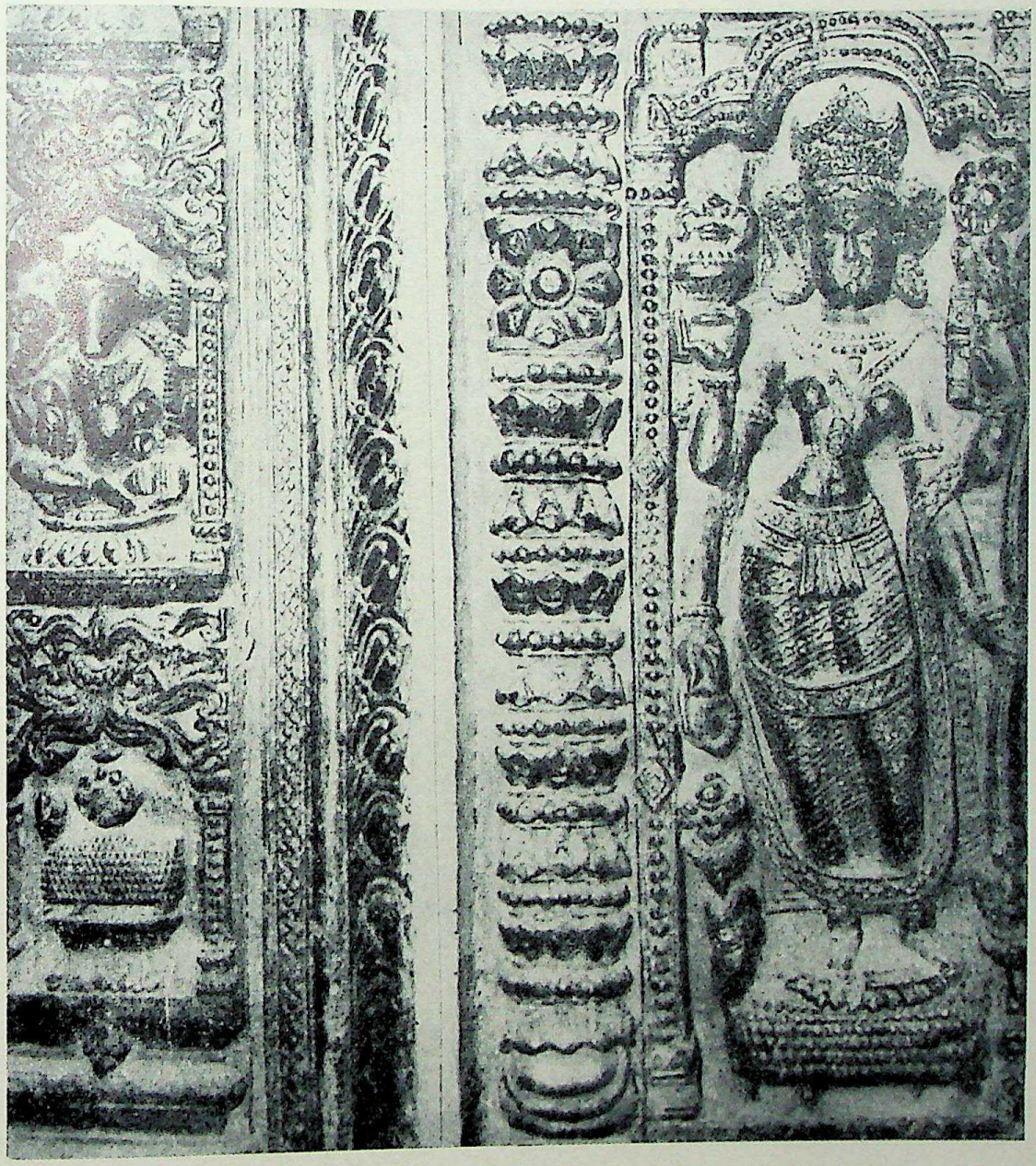

(a) Carved door-panel of Kali temple,
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

b) Wood carvings on the inner walls of Kali temple,
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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Carved pillar in Kali temple,
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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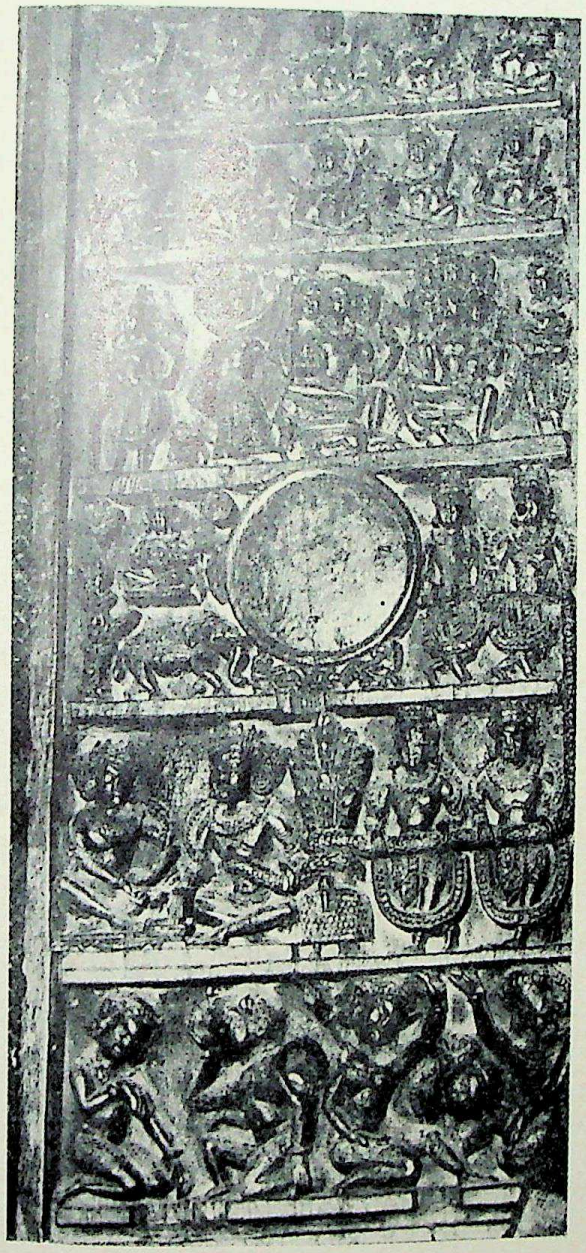

(a) Carving on the main door of Kali temple, V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

(b) Carved side panel of Chamunda Devi temple, V. Devi-Kothi (Churah), Chamba,
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Carved side Panel of Chamunda Devi Temple,
V. Devi-Kothi (Churah), Chamba
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Vishnu,
Nirmand (Simla Hills).
Photo and Collection : O.C. Sud.

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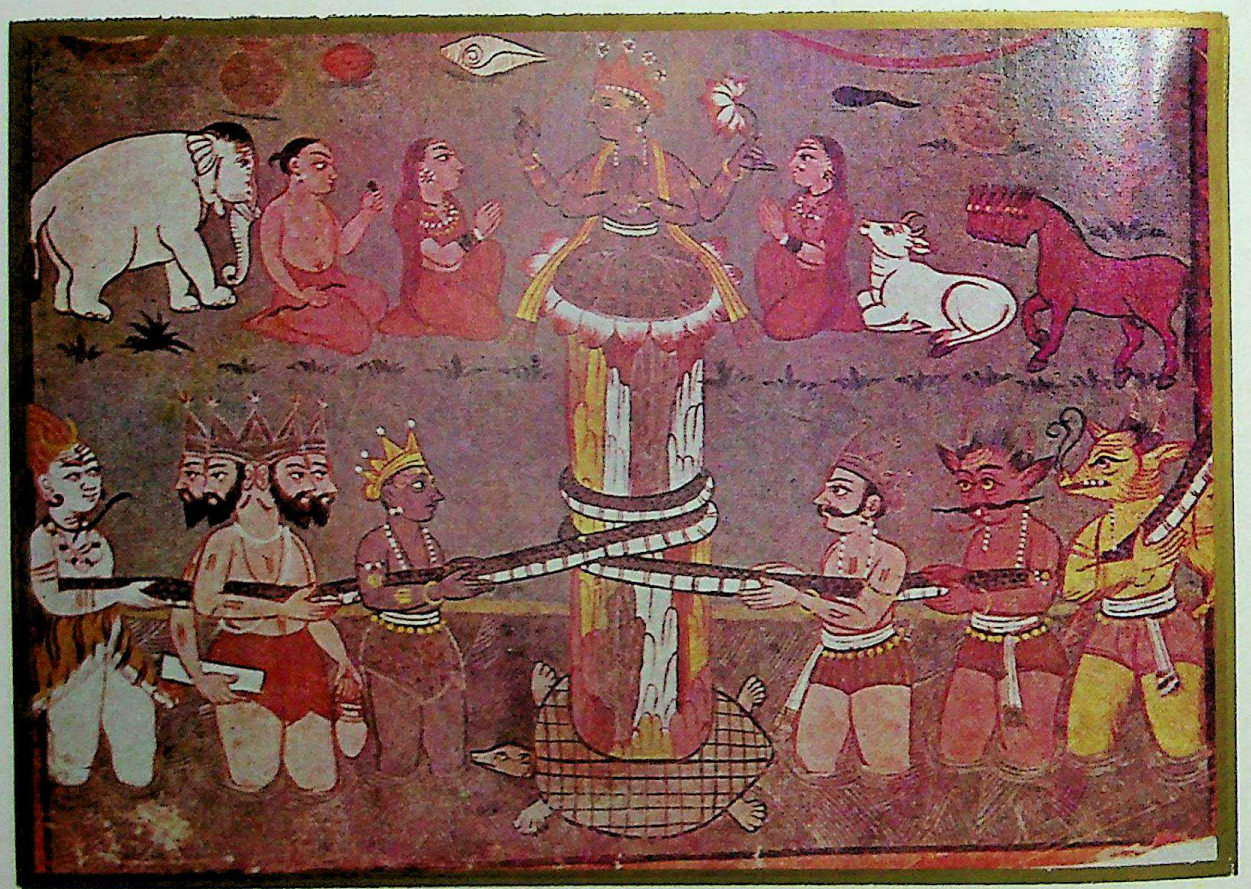

Churning of Ocean by gods and demons,
Mandi, C. 18th century.
Collection : Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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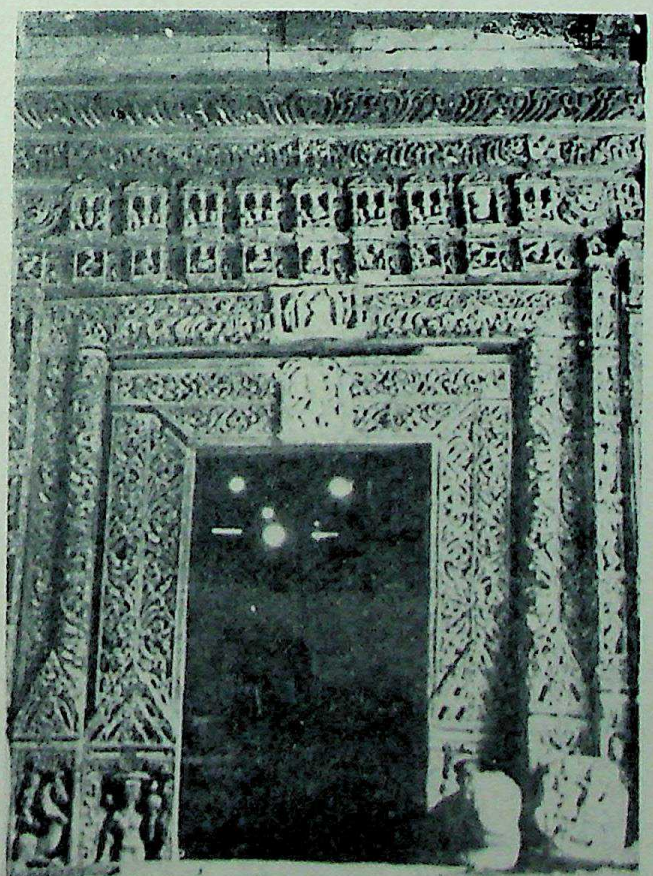
(a) Carving in Chamunda Devi temple,
V. Devi-Kothi (Churah), Chamba.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

(b) Carved door frame, Dakshneshwar
(*Dakhni Mahadev*) temple,
(c. 9-10th century A.D.)
V. Nirmand (Outer Saraj), Kulu.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



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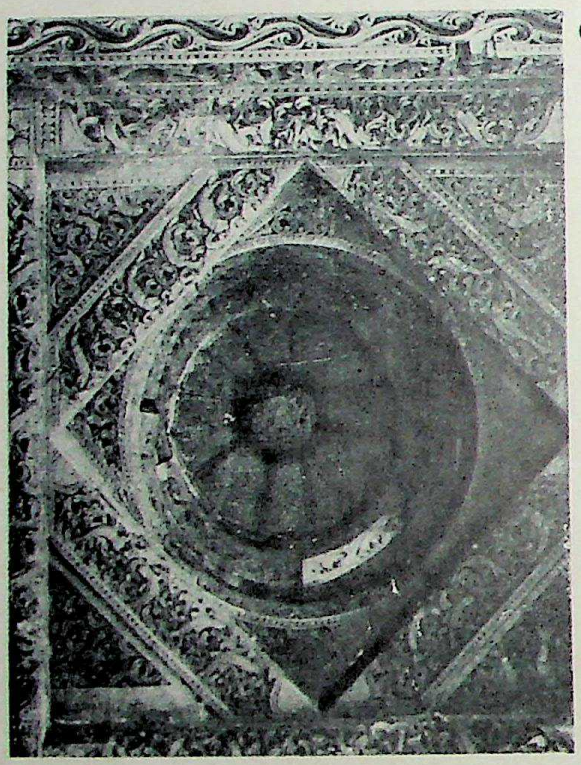
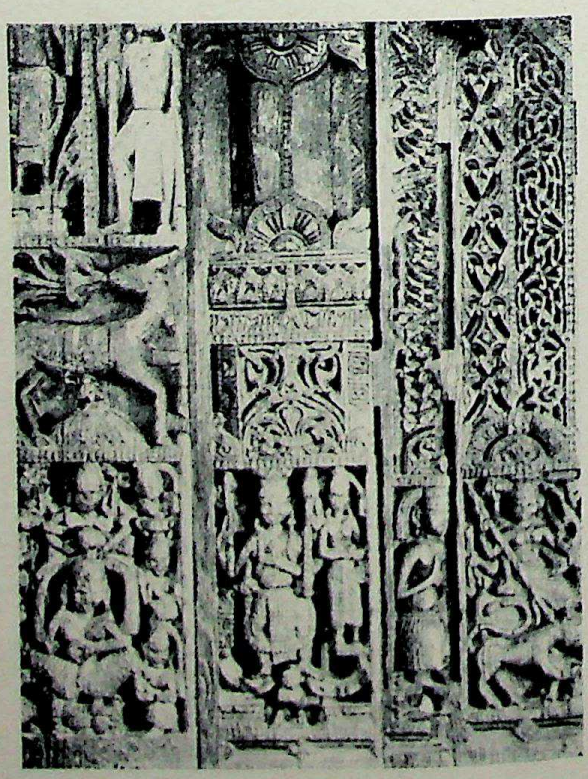


(a) Ceiling of Banthia *Deota* temple, V. Janog (Theog), Simla Hills. Photo : O.C. Sud.

(b) Carved Wooden panels. Hidimba Devi temple, V. Doongri (Manali), Kulu. Photo : Arch. Survey of India.



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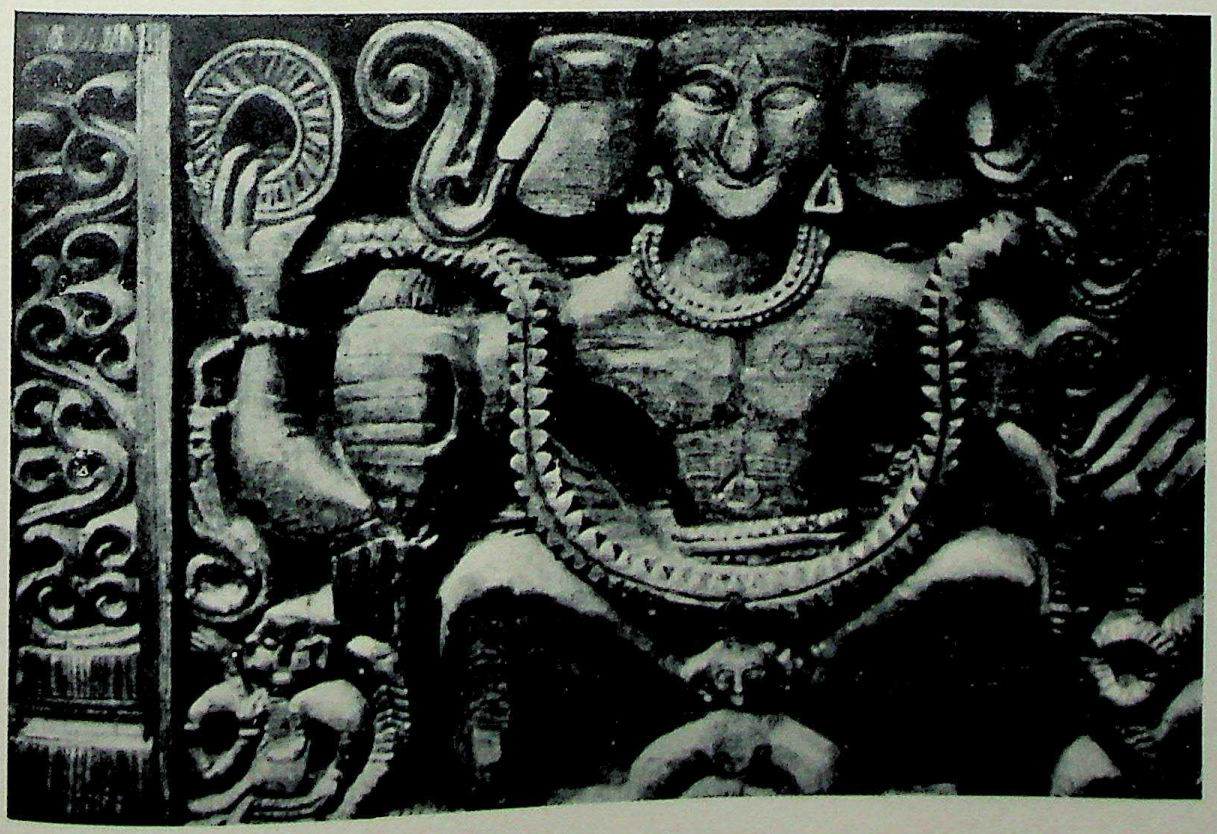
(a) Carving on the main door of Chhatreshwari Devi temple, V. Nirath (Rampur-Bashahr), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Carved figures on the facade of Prashar Rishi temple.
On the bank of Prashar Deo lake, Mandi.
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.

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Carved Figures on the Facade of Prashar Rishi temple,
On the bank of Prashar Deo Lake, Mandi.

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(a) Carving on the inner door of Chattreshwari Devi temple, V. Nirath (Rampur-Bashahr), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

(b) Folk motifs in Shiva temple, V. Balan (Inner Saraj,) Kulu.
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.

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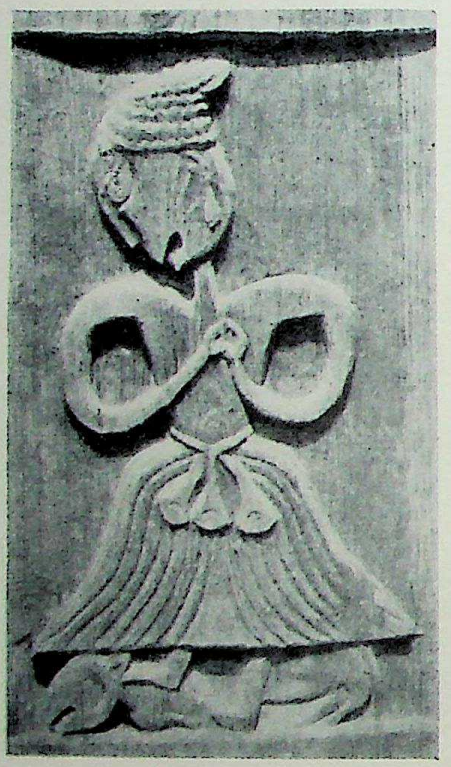

(a) Folk motifs in Shiva temple,
V. Balan (Inner Saraj), Kulu.
Photo : Penelope Chetwode.

(b) Wood carvings on the *Mandapa* of Ajodhyanath temple,
Old Palace Court-yard, Rampur-Bashahr, Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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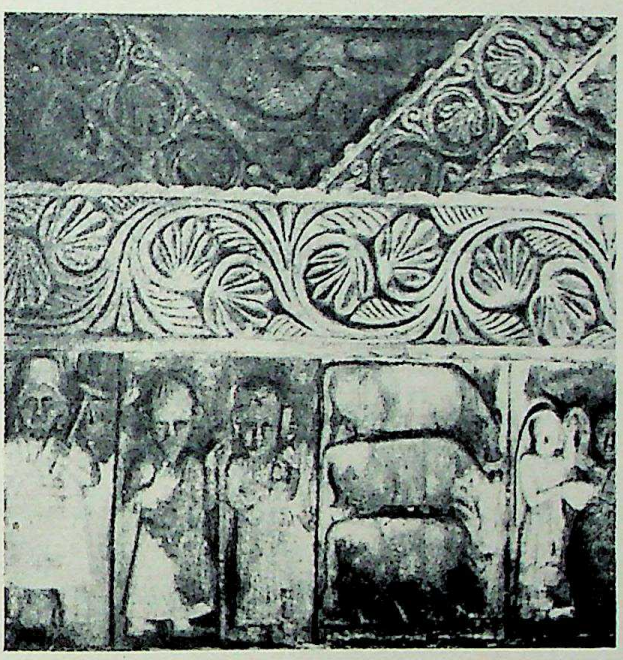
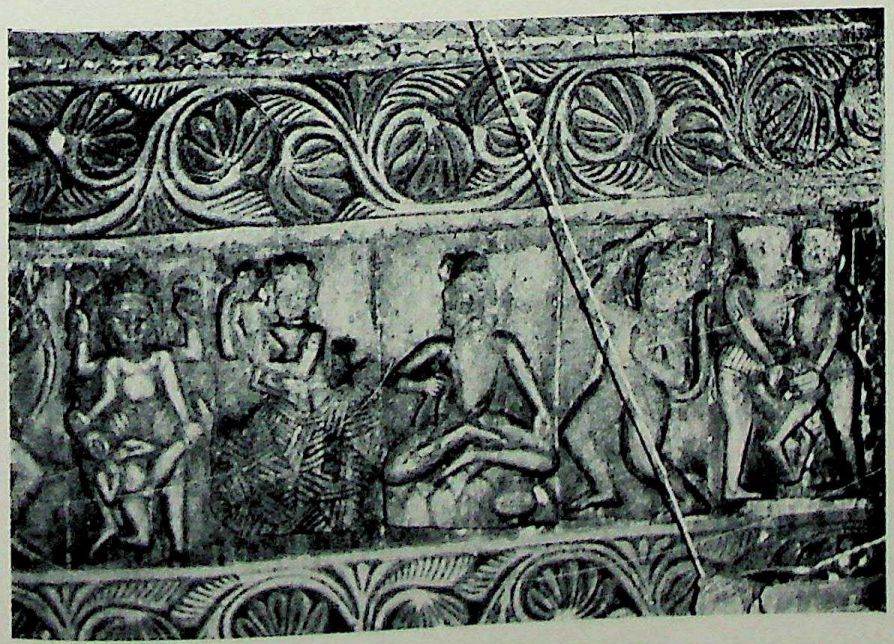
(a) Wood carving on the *Mandapa* of Ajodhyanath temple, Old Palace court-yard, Rampur-Bashahr, Simla Hills. Photo : O.C. Handa.





(b) Wood carving *on the Mandapa of* Ajodhyanath temple, Old Palace *Court-yard Rampur-Bashahr*, Simla Hills. Photo : O.C. Handa.

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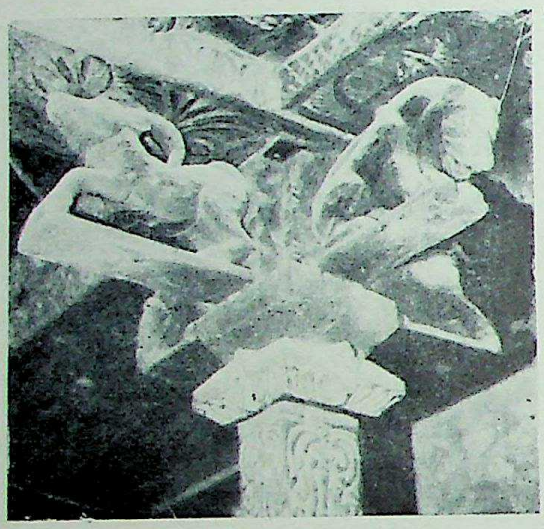
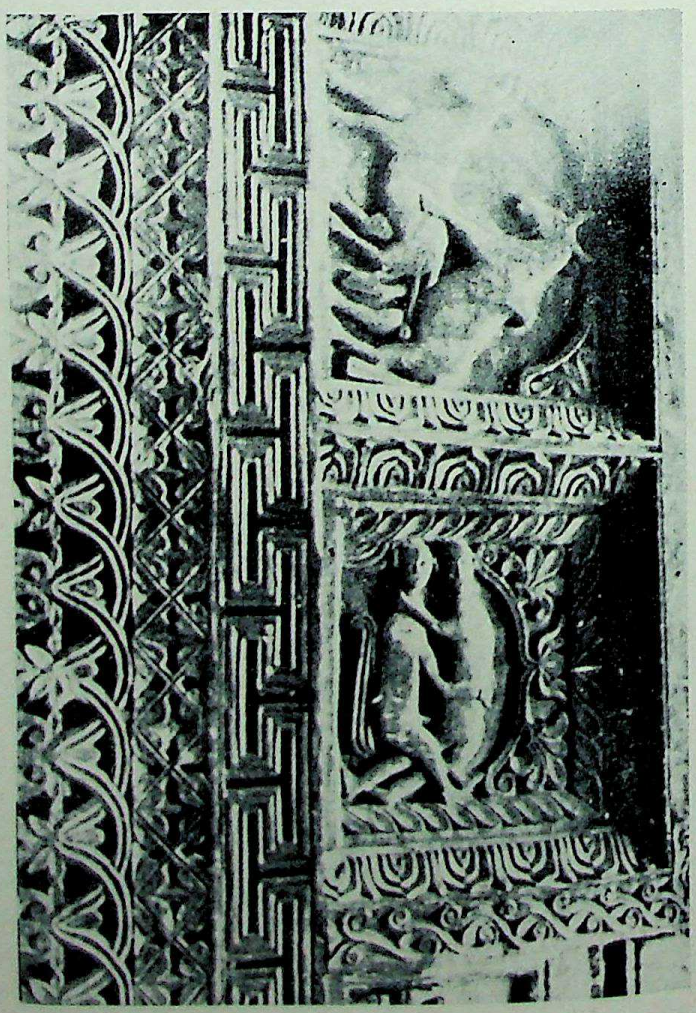


(a) Wood carving on the *Mandapa* of Ajodhyanath temple, Old Palace Court-yard, Rampur-Bashahr, Simla Hills. Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Carving on the outer wall of Urni temple, V. Urni, Kinnaur. Photo ; Dr. Banshi Ram Sharma.

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Rama in exile at Panchavati with Sita and Lakshmana,
Chamba (Guler influence). c. 1790 A.D.
Collection : Bhurisingh Museum, Chamba.

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Parshu Rama, the sixth incarnation of Mahavishnu, chopping thousand hands of Kartaviryarjuna.
Mandi, c. late 17th century.
Collection : Raja Yogendra Chandra of Jubbal.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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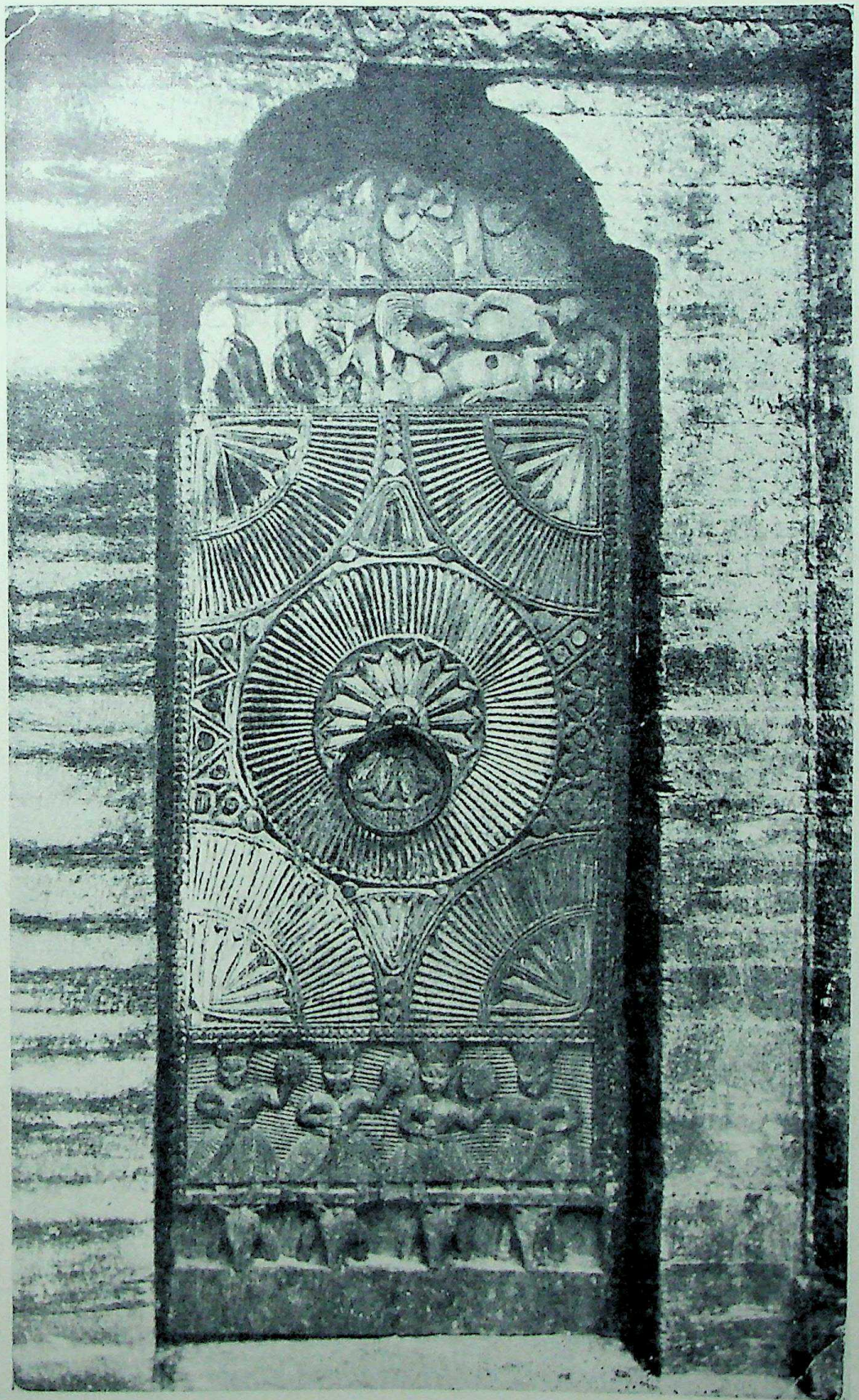

Main door of Bijjat *Deota* temple,
V. Sarahan (Chopal), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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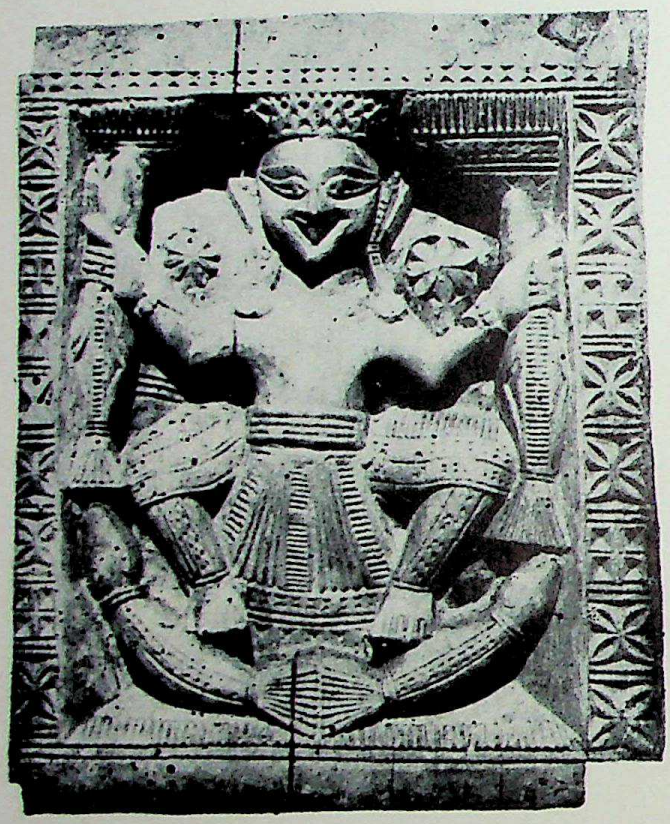

(a) Figural carving on the ceiling of Shiva temple, V. Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

(b) Wooden statue of Shiva and Parvati, Chhatreshwari Devi temple.
V. Nirath (Rampur-Bashahr), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Wooden statue of Lankara-Bir. Piri Devi temple,
V. Purana Jubbal (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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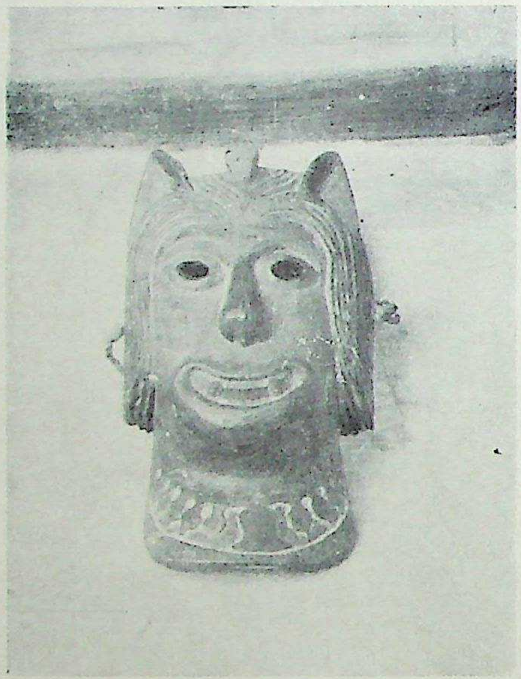

(a) Wooden mask of Narsingh,
Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba,
Photo : O.C Handa.

(b) Wooden masks, Chamunda Devi temple,
V. Devi-Kothi (Churah), Chamba.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Memorial stones,
V. Shari (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : Author.

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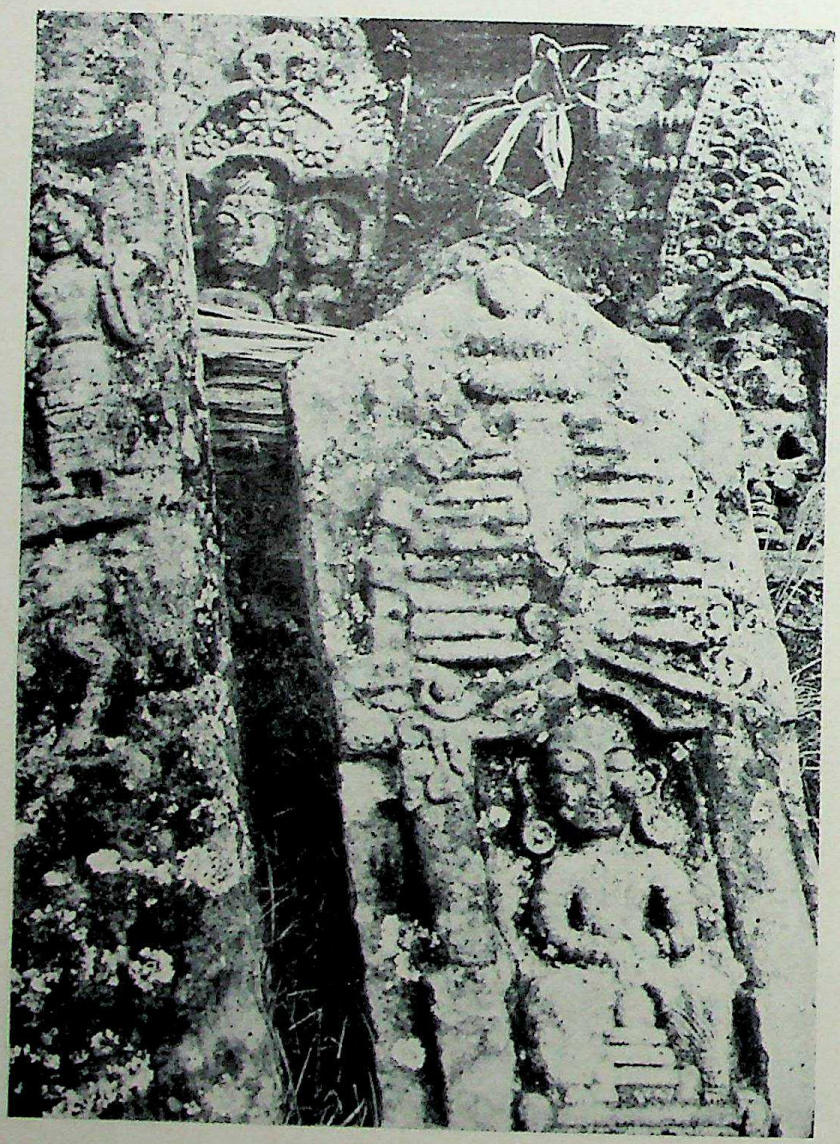

Memorial stone.
V. Nagar, Kulu.

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(a) Banothi Devi.
Near Jutogh, Simla.
Photo : O.C. Sud.

(b) Folk style sculpture, Parshu Rama temple,
V. Nirmand (Outer Saraj), Kulu.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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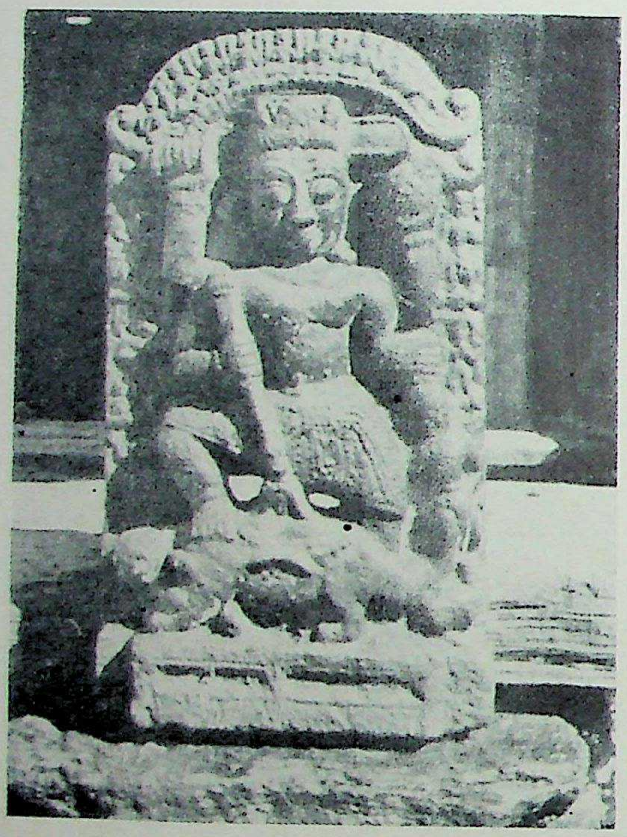

(a) Mahishasurmardani, Parshu Rama temple, V. Nirmand (Outer Saraj), Kulu.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

(b) Vishnu and Lakshmi, Parshu Rama temple. V. Nirmand (Out Saraj), Kulu.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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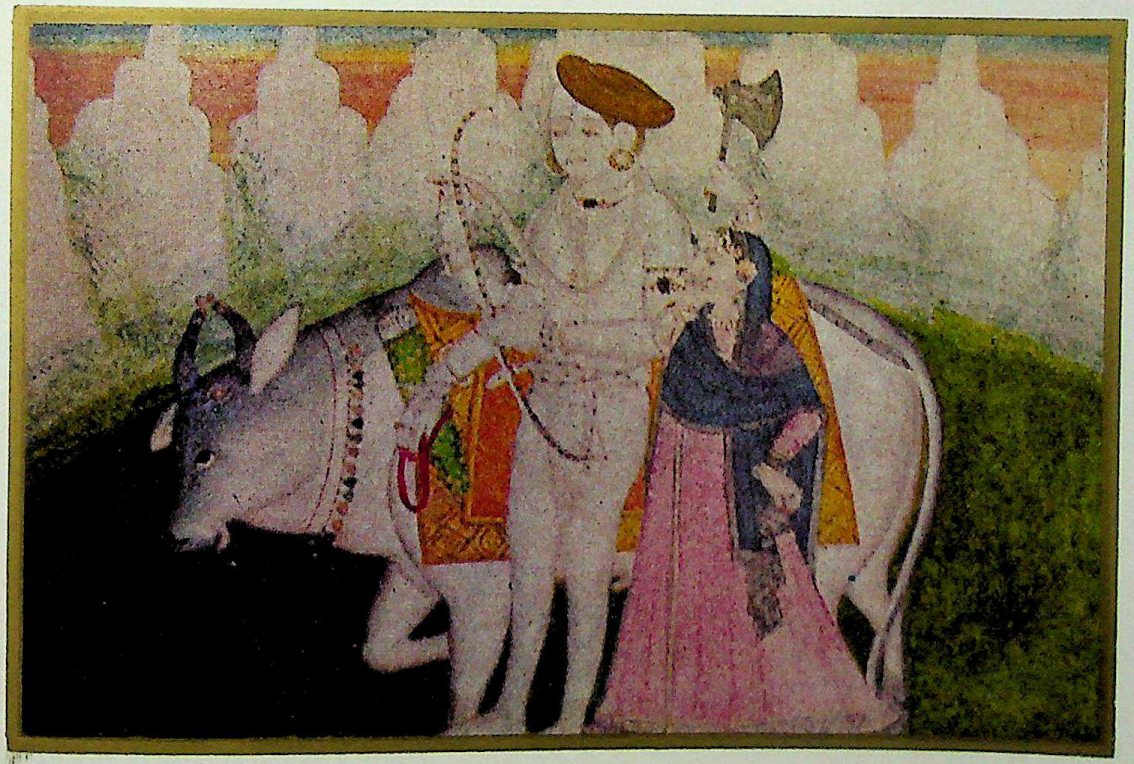
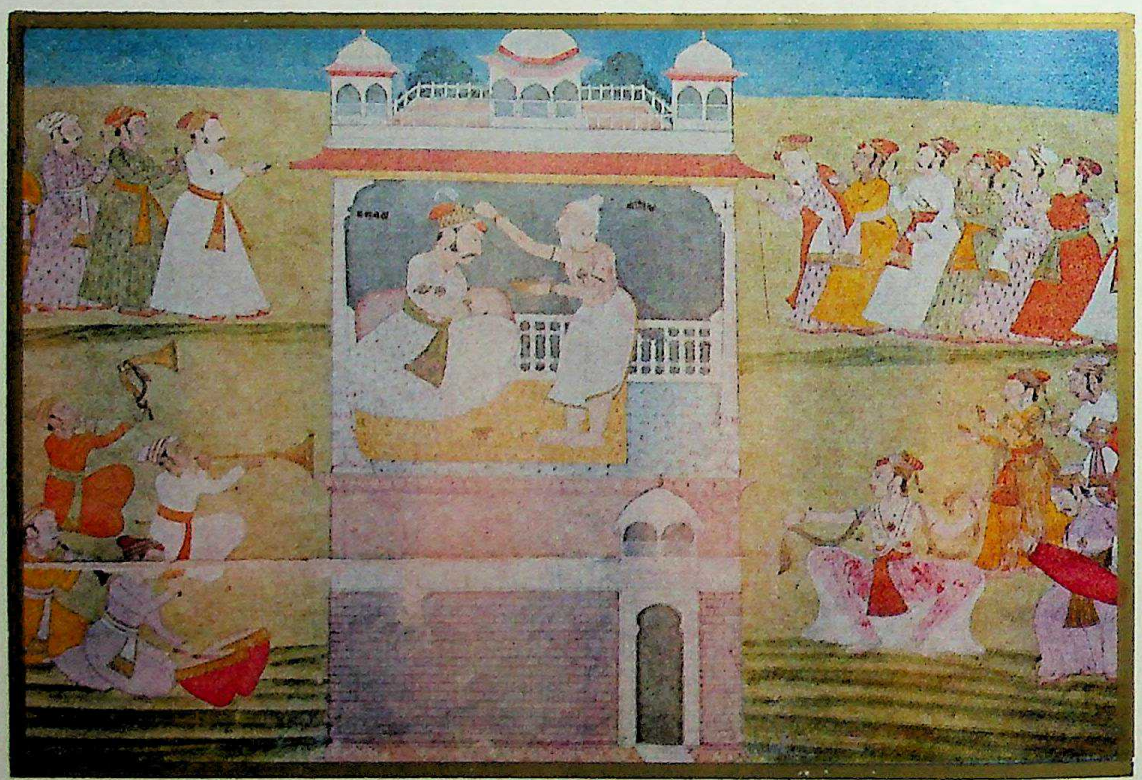


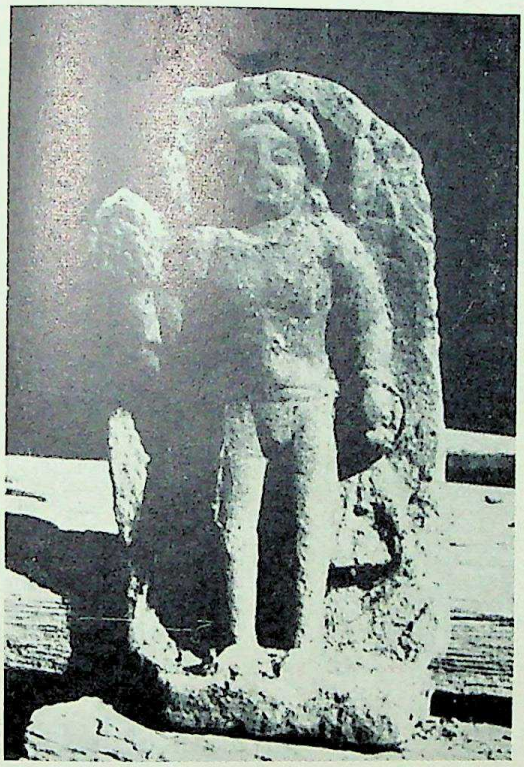
Shiva and Parvati,
Arki Style, 19th century.
Collection and Photo : O.C. Sud.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

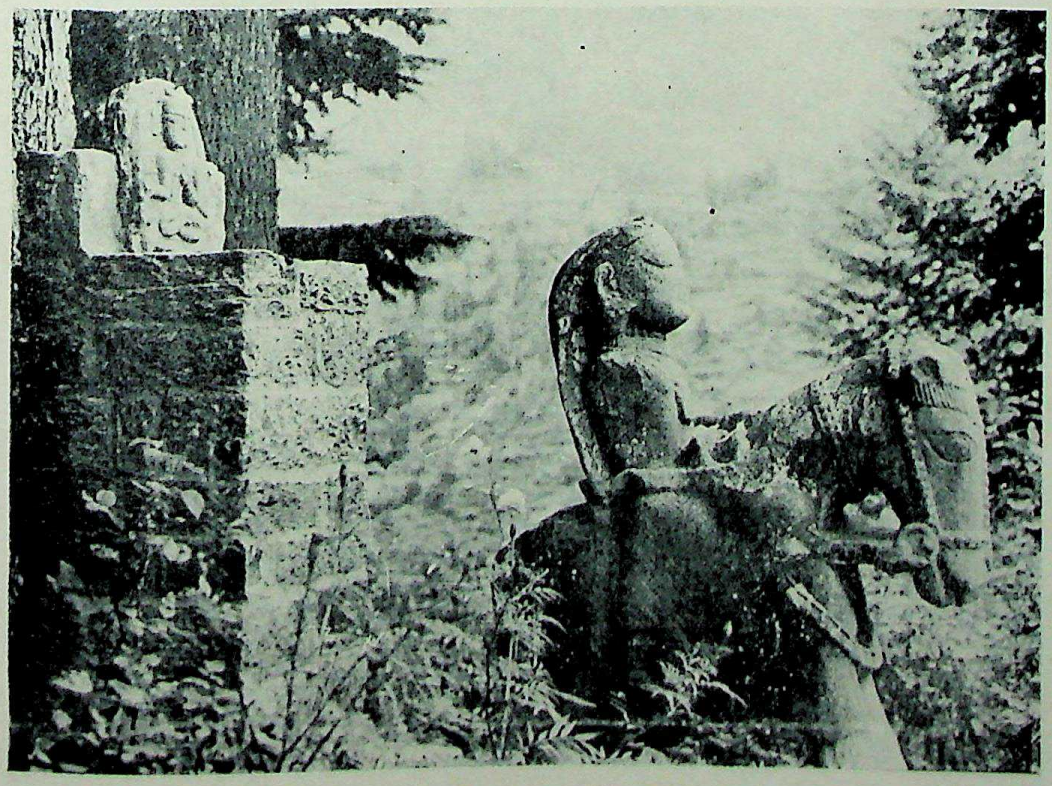


Dashratha being consecrated as king of Ayodhya
by Vasistha,
Chamba, c. 1760-65 A.D.
Collection : Bhurisingh Museum, Chamba.
Photo : V.C. Ohri.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



(a) Bhairva, Parshu Rama temple,
V, Nirmand (Outer Saraj), Kulu.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Rajput Prince, Roerich compound. (16th-17th century A.D),
V. Nagar, Kulu.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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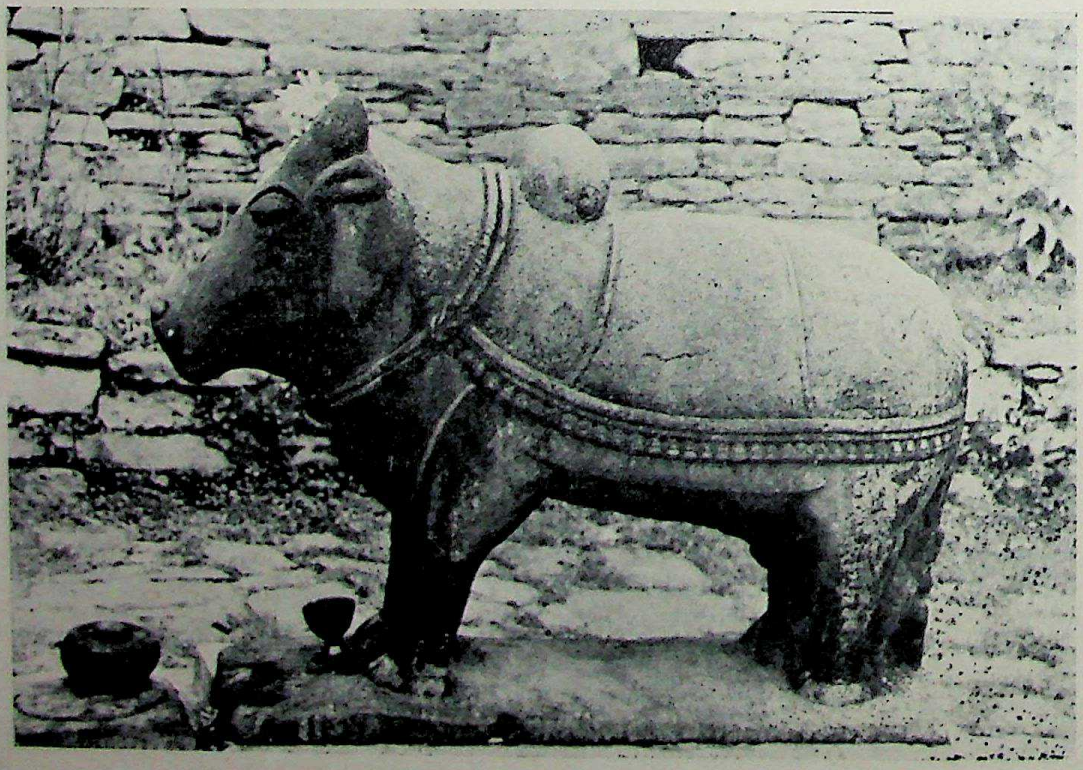
(a) Bhadramukha,
V. Gohar, Mandi.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Nandi, Shiva temple,
V.Pangana, Mandi.
Photo : O.C Handa.

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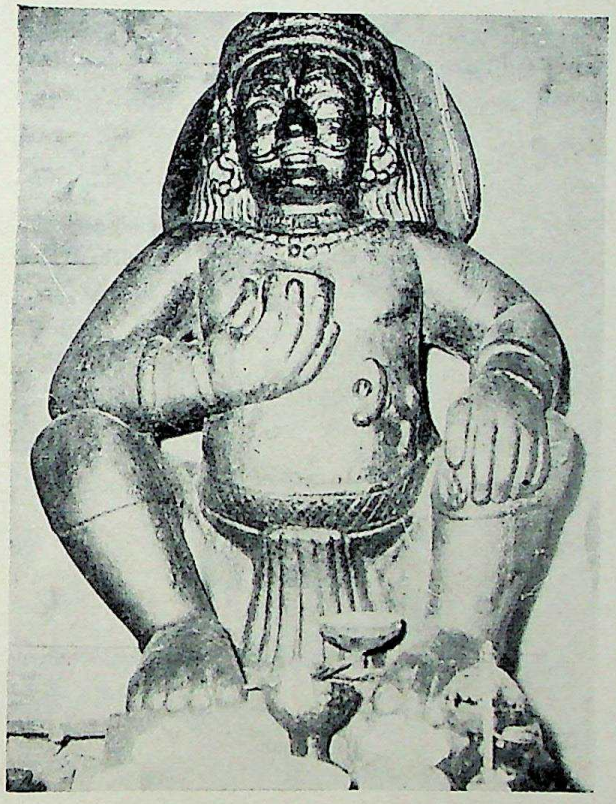

(a) Bhima, Pandava temple,
V. Masli (Rohru Valley), Simla Hills.

(b) Trimukhi Shiva, Chhatreshwari Devi temple,
V. Nirath (Rampur-Bashahr), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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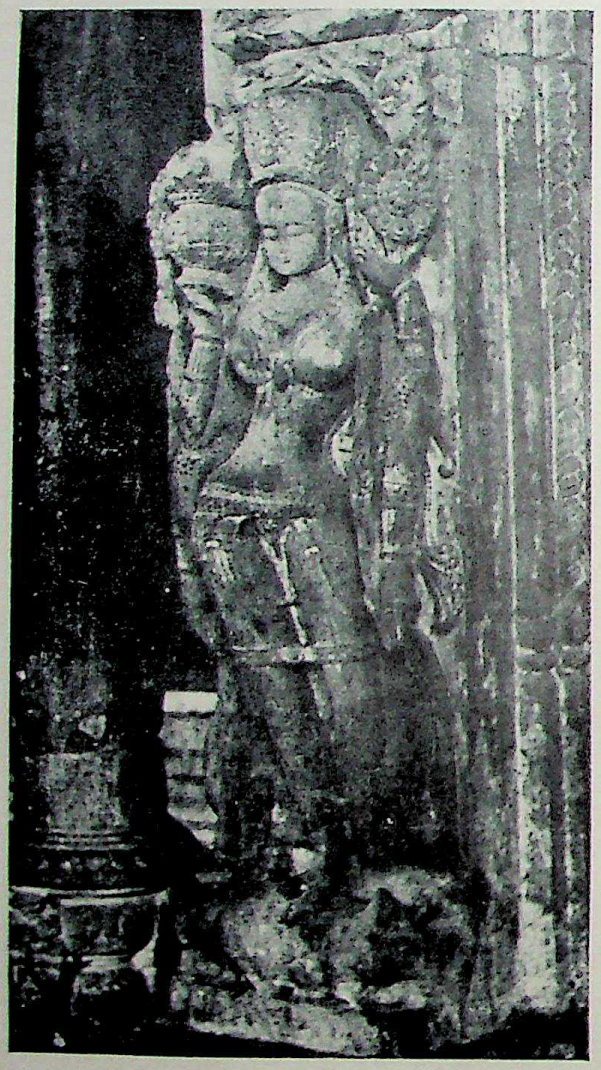

(a) Goddess Yamuna, Vaidyanath temple, (1204 A.D.), V. Baijnath, Kangra.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

(b) Goddess Ganga, Kangra Fort, Kangra.
Photo : Himachal State Museum.

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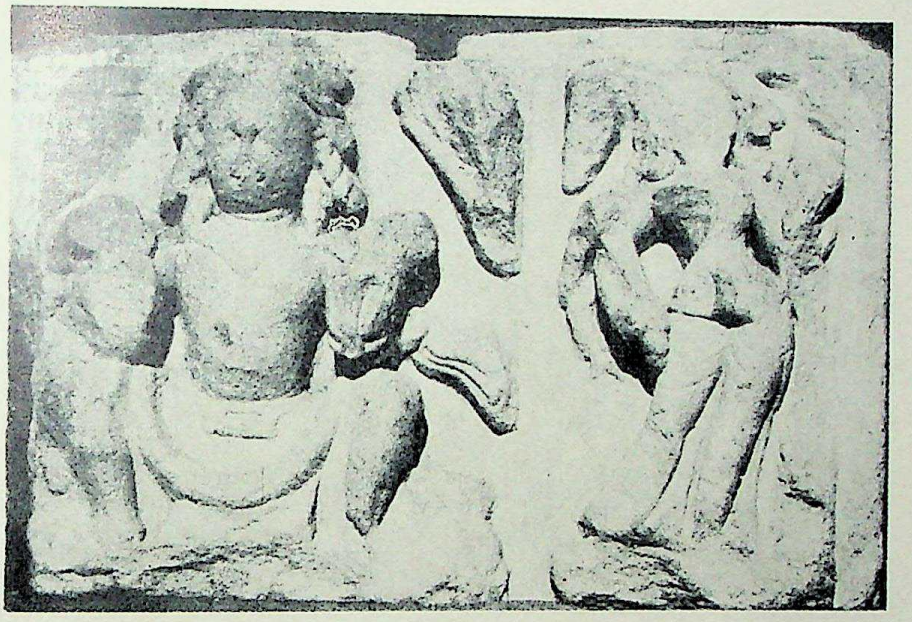
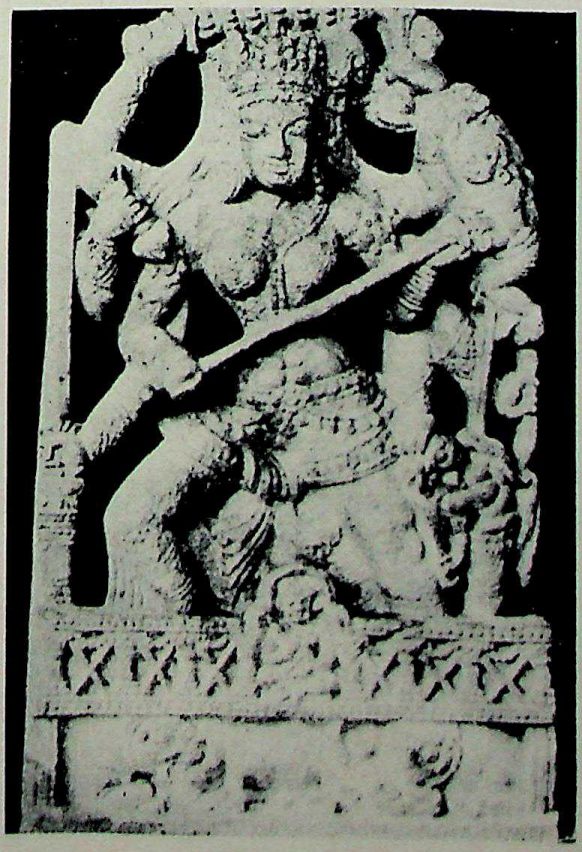


(a) Surya, Shiva temple, (8th century A.D.),
Masrur, Kangra.
Photo : Himachal State Museum.



(b) Inscribed image of Devi Ashtabuji,
V. Savim (Sai), Chamba.
Vogel : *Antiquities of Chamba State*, 1911.

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Vishnu-Lakshmi on Garuda, Gauri-Shanker temple
(c. 8-9th century A.D.),
V. Mamel (Karsog), Mandi.
Photo : Himachal State Museum.

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(a) Kubera, Shiva temple, (8th century A.D.),
Masrur, Kangra.
Photo : Himachal State Museum.

(b) Vishnu-Lakshmi on Garuda, Shiva *Deol*
(c. 8-9th century A.D.),
V. Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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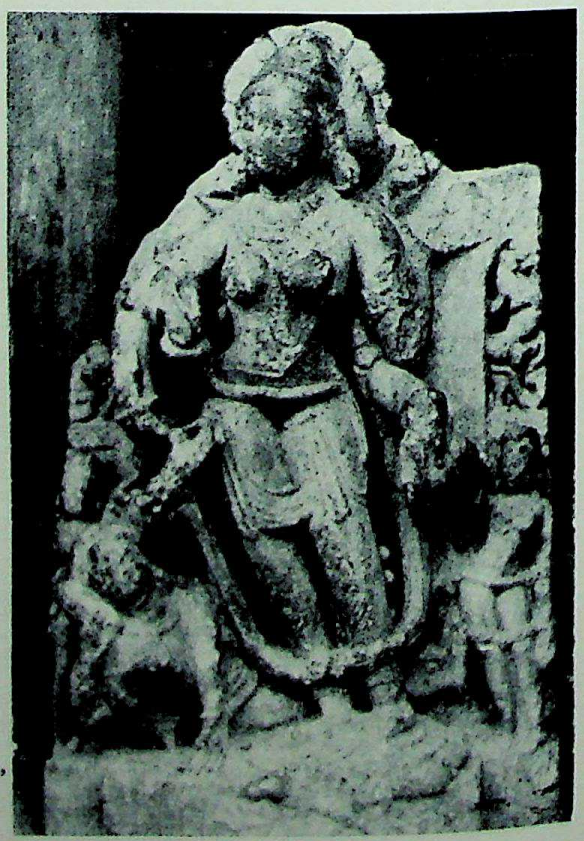
(a) Standing Vishnu, Shiva *Deol*, (c. 8-9th century A.D.), V. Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Parvati, Shiva *Deol* temple, (c. 8th-9th century A.D.), V. Hatkoti (Jubbal). Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Gilded Tara,
Western Tibet.
Collection and photo : O.C. Sud.

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Vajradhara (c. 18th-19th century),
Kinnaur.
Collection and photo : O.C. Sud.

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Mahishasuramardani, Hateshwari temple, (c. 7th-8th century A.D.),
V. Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Sketch : O.C. Handa.

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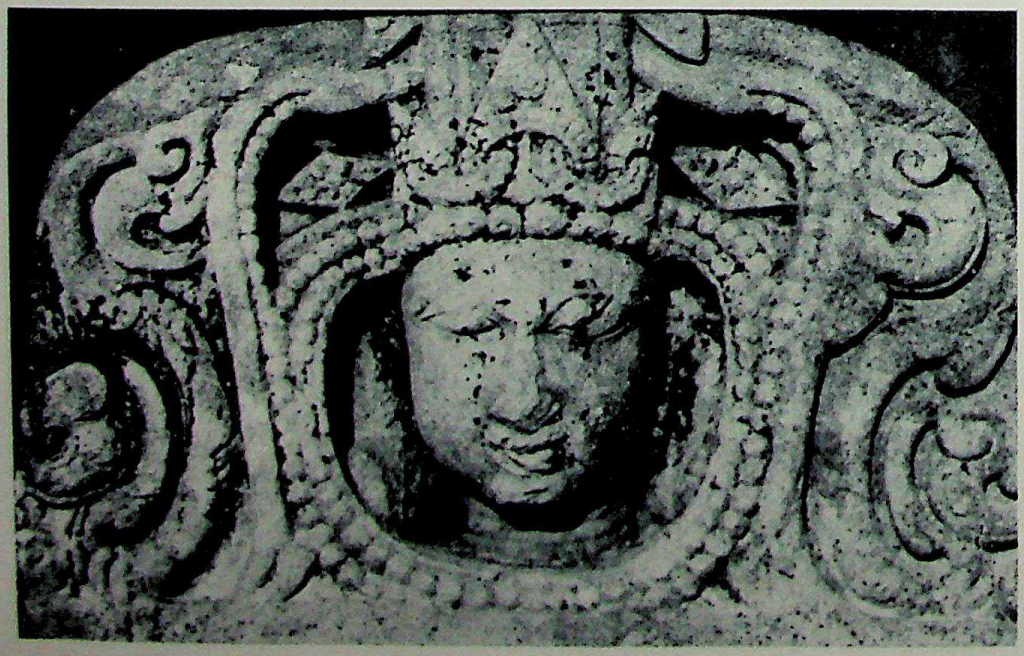
(a) Durga, Shiva temple, (c. 7-8th century A.D.),
V. Prahat-Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo and collection : Himachal State Museum.



(b) Bhadramukha from Prahat-Hatkoti temple complex
(c. 8th-9th century A.D.),
Photo and Collection : Himachal State Museum

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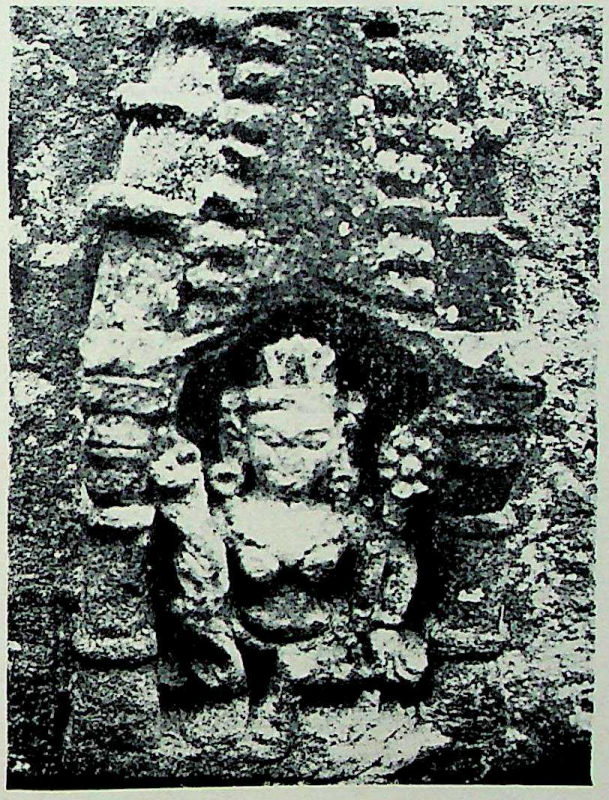
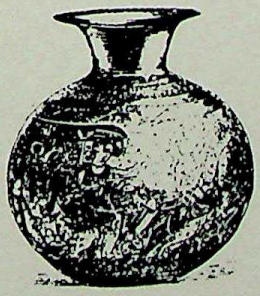
(a) Niche image,
Kulu Valley.
Photo : Himachal State Museum.





(b) Copper Lota (c. 2nd-3rd century A.D.),
G.C.M. Birdwood : *the Industrial Art of India*, 1880

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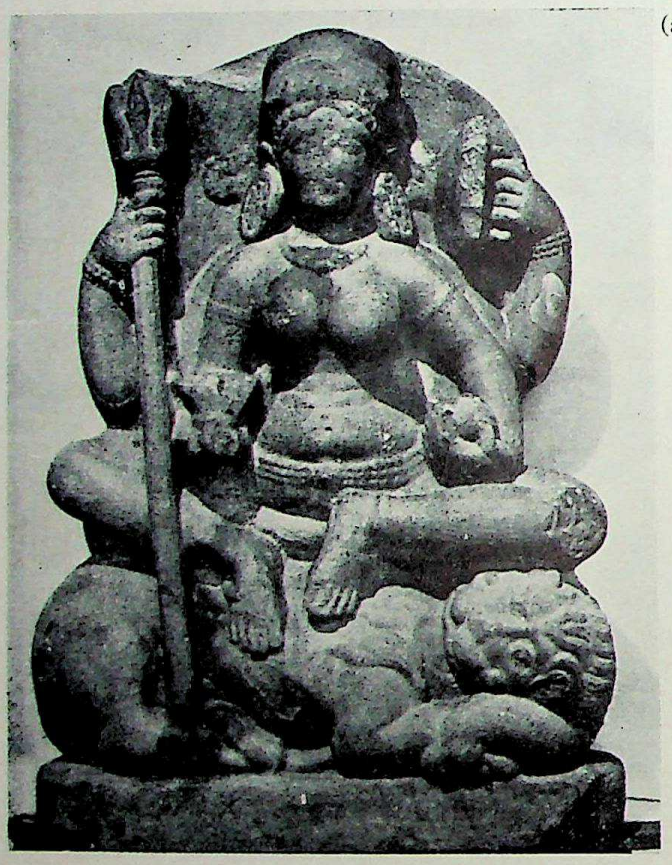
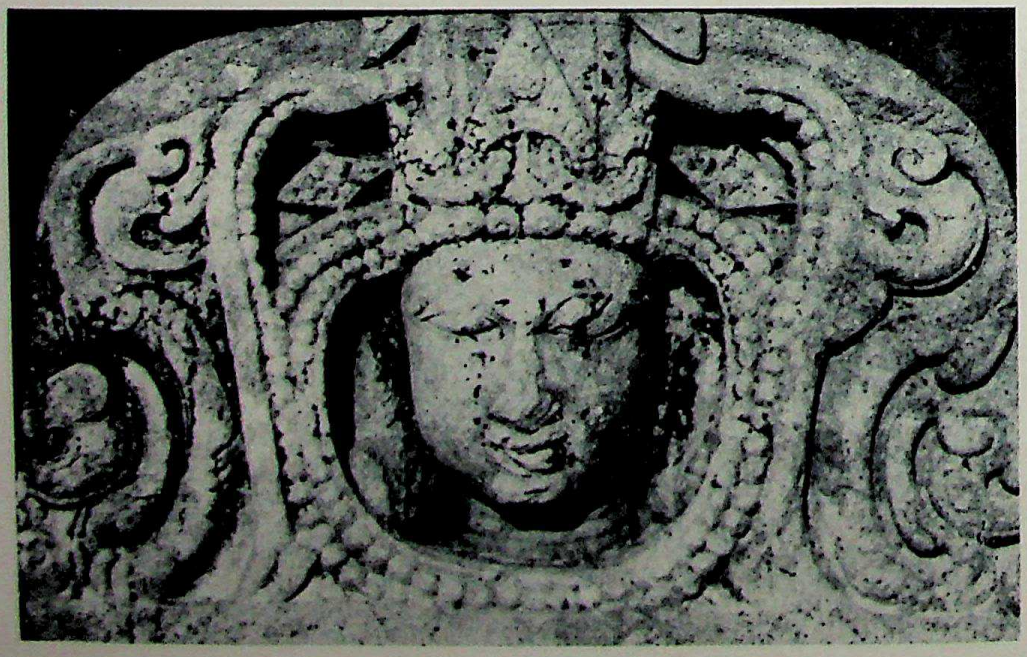


(a) Durga, Shiva temple, (c. 7-8th century A.D.),
V. Prahat-Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo and collection : Himachal State Museum.



(b) Bhadramukha from Prahat-Hatkoti temple complex
(c. 8th-9th century A.D.).
Photo and Collection : Himachal State Museum.

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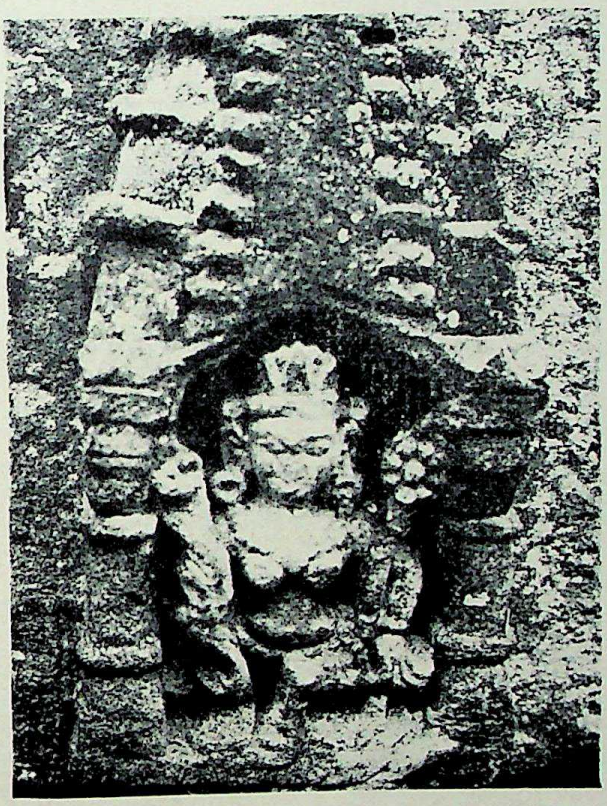
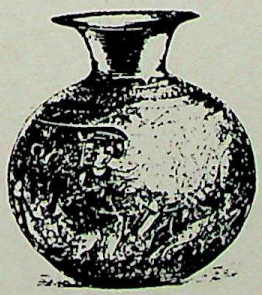
(a) Niche image,
Kulu Valley.
Photo : Himachal State Museum.





(b) Copper Lota (c. 2nd-3rd century A.D.),
G.C.M. Birdwood : *the Industrial Art of India*, 1880

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Gilded door, Bhima Kali temple,
V. Sarahan (Rampur-Bashahr), Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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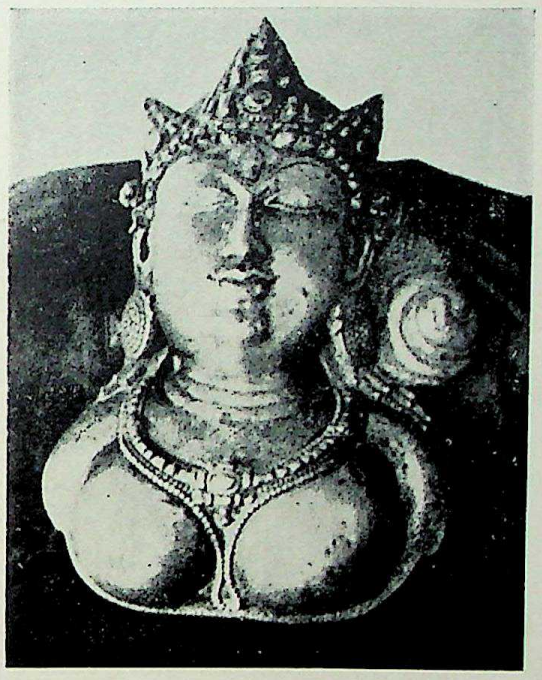
(a) Inscribed Metal mask of Mujuni Devi, (c. 9th-10th century A.D.).
V. Nirmand (Outer Saraj). Kulu.
Photo : H.L.H. Shuttleworth.



(b) Trimukhi silver mask (Possibly of Shiva, discovered on the occassion of Bhunda ceremoney in Parshu Rama temple in October, 1981.)
V. Nirmand (Outer Saraj), Kulu.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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(a) Metal masks of Devi and *Deota*, Mandi region.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

(b) Vishnu & Lakshmi on Garuda, Himachal Lok Sanskriti Sansthan, Mandi.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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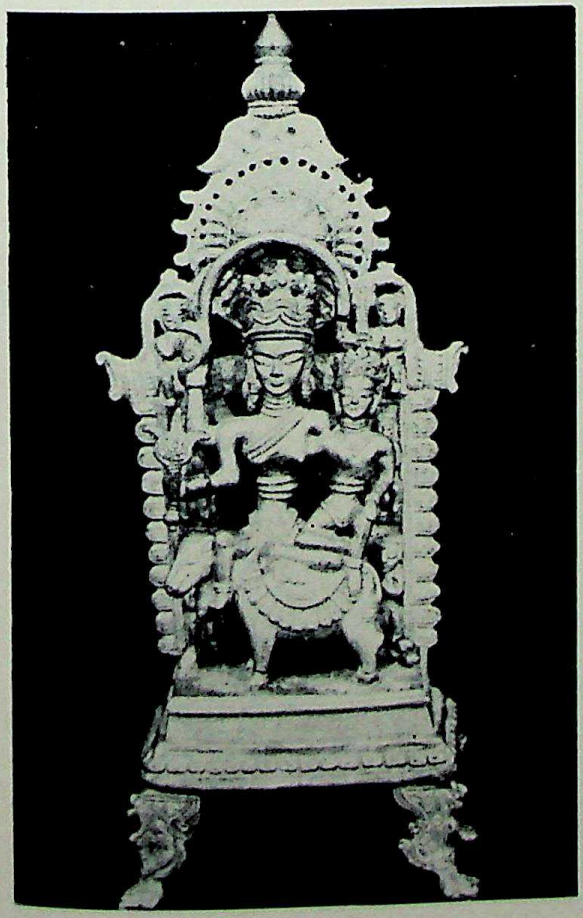
(a) Metal masks of *Devi* & *Deota*, Mandi region
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Shiva and Parvati on Nandi.
Simla Hills.
Photo and collection : O.C. Sud.

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Shiva-Parvati (c. 10th-11th century A,D.),
V. Mamel (Karsog), Mandi.
Photo : O,C. Handa.

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Padmasambhava ,
Collection and Photo : O.C. Sud.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Padmasambhava,
Collection and Photo : O.C. Sud.

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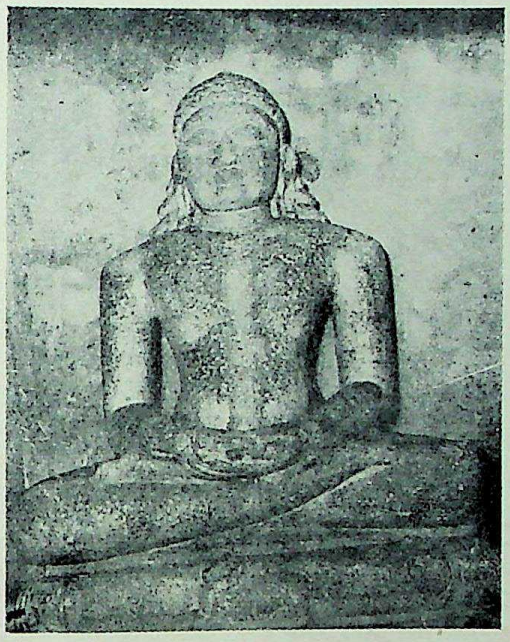
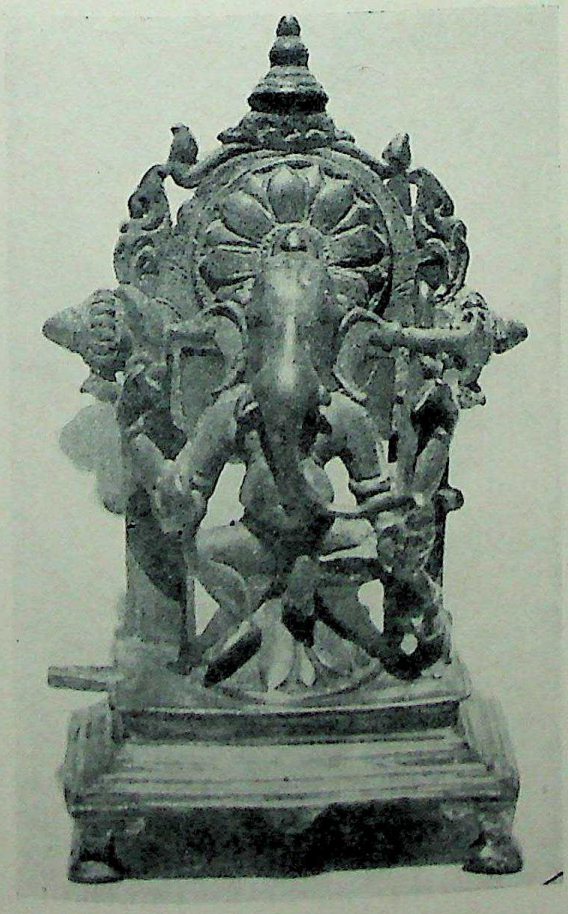
(a) Inscribed bronze image of Adinath (1466 A.D.), Kangra Fort.
Photo : O.C. Handa.





(b) Ganesh (c. 10th century A.D.), Sarahan (Rampur-Bashahr), Simla Hills.
Photo and collection : Himachal State Museum.

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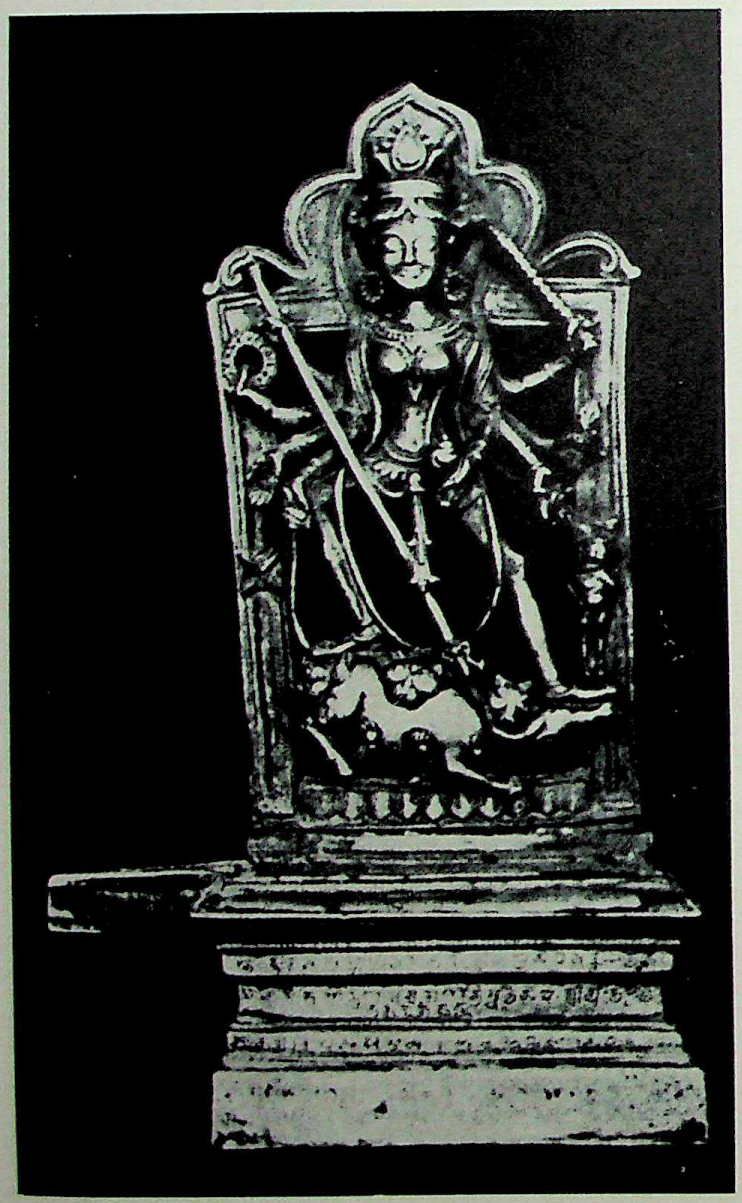

↑
(a) Inscribed bronze image of Mirkula Devi (c. 16th century A.D.),
V. Udaipur, Lahaul.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

(b) Inscribed bronze image of Svachchhanda Bhairavi (c. 10th-11th century A.D.), →
Chamba region,
National Museum, Delhi.
C. Sivaramamusti : *Masterpieces of Indian Sculptures*, 1971.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Inscribed brass image of Mahishasurmardani, Lakshana Devi temple, (c. 680-700 A.D.),
V. Brahmaur, Chamba.
Sketch : O.C. Handa.

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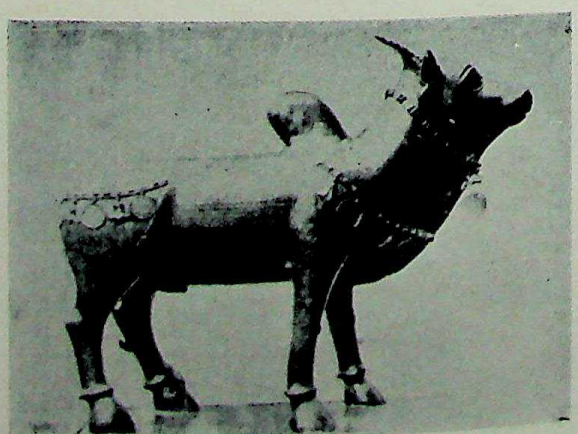
(a) Vishnu Chaturmurti, Hari-Har-Rai tempe (c. 10th century A.D.),
Chamba,
Photo : Himachal State Museum.



(b) Inscribed bronze Nandi, Manimahesh temple complex, (c. 680-700 A.D.),
V. Brahmaur, Chamba.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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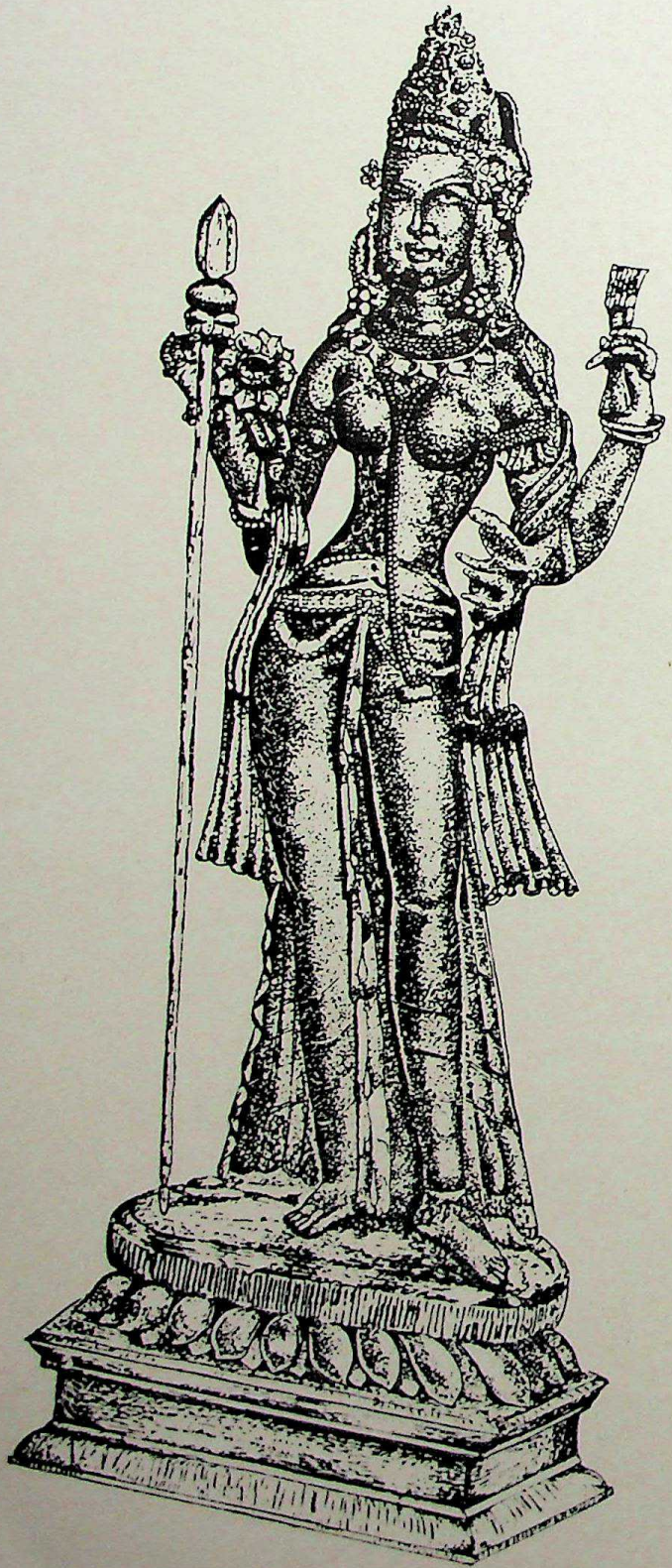
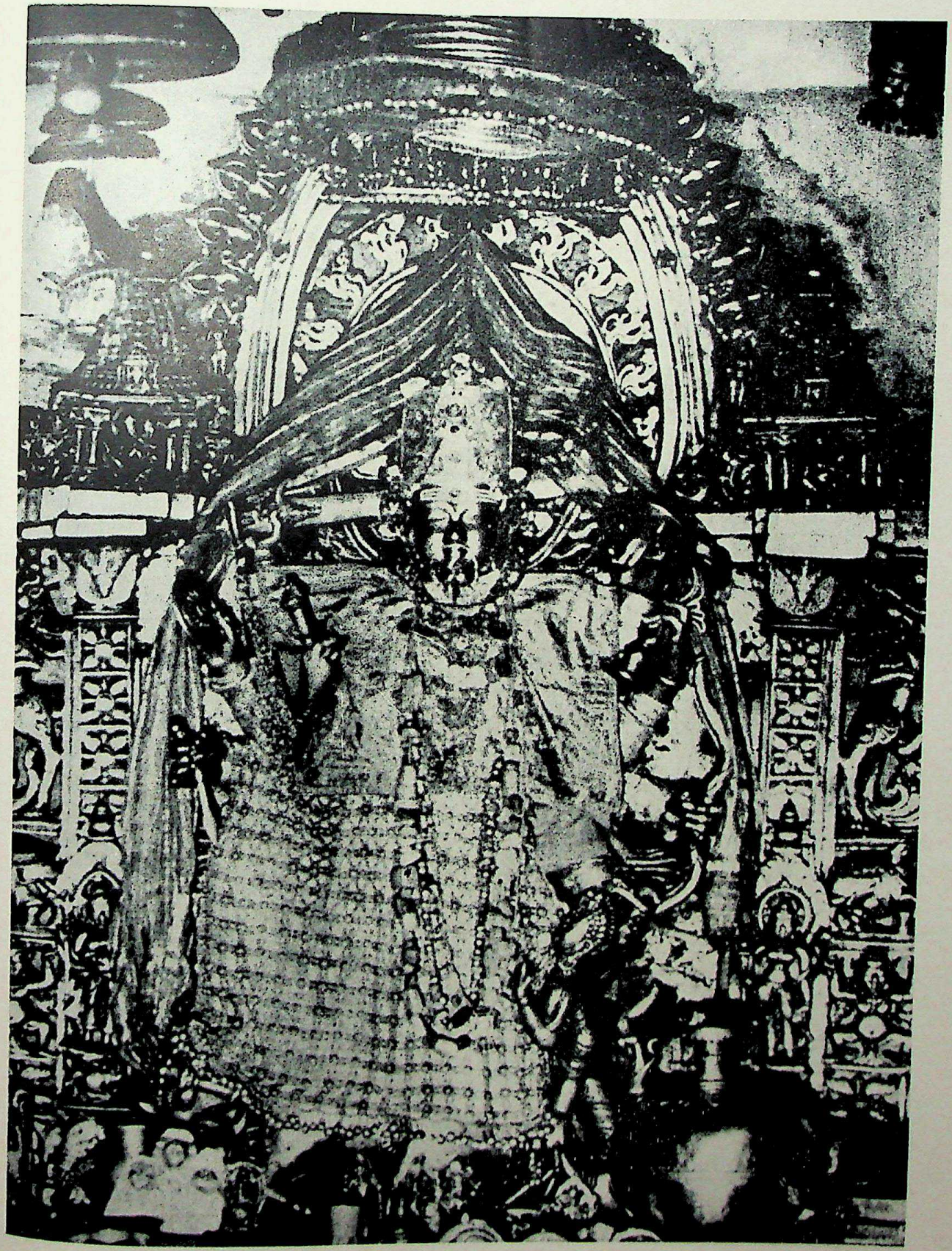
Inscribed brass image of Narsingh, (c. 7th century A.D.),
V. Brahmaur, Chamba.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Inscribed brass image of Shakti Devi, (c. 680-700 A.D.),
V. Chhatrarhi (Churah), Chamba.
Sketch : O.C. Handa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Inscribed brass image of Mahishasurmardani, Hateshwari temple, (c. 7th century A.D.),
V. Hatkoti (Jubbal), Simla Hills.
Photo : Photo Studio, Simla.

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Sorath Ragini, Megh Rag,
Guler, 17th century.
Collection : O.C Sud.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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Sadaksari-Avalokiteshvara,
Collection and Photo : O.C. Handa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Padmasambhava,
Collection and Photo : O.C. Handa.

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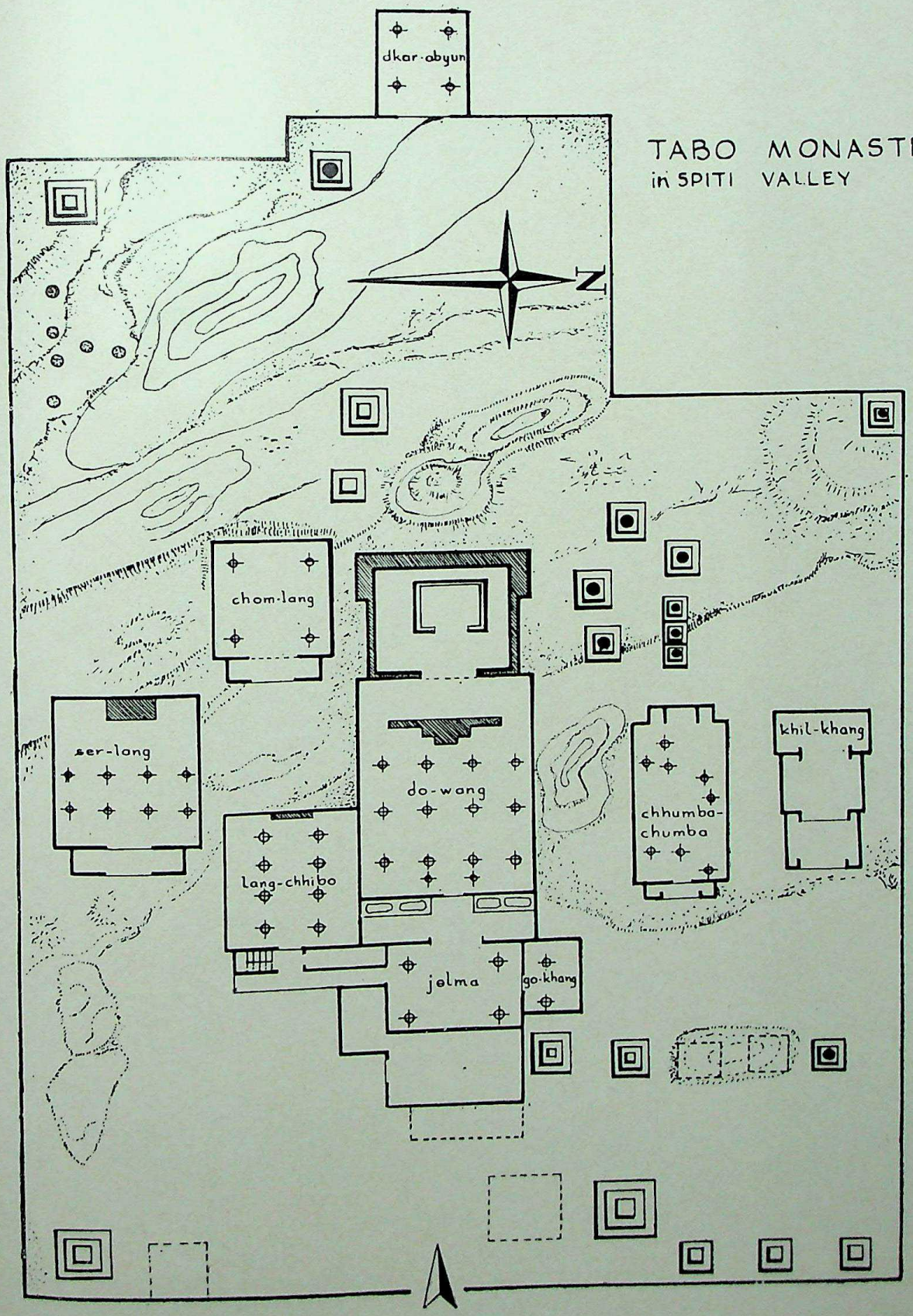

Plan of Tabo monastery-complex with eight temples,
(996 or 1008 A.D.)
Sketch : O.C. Handa.

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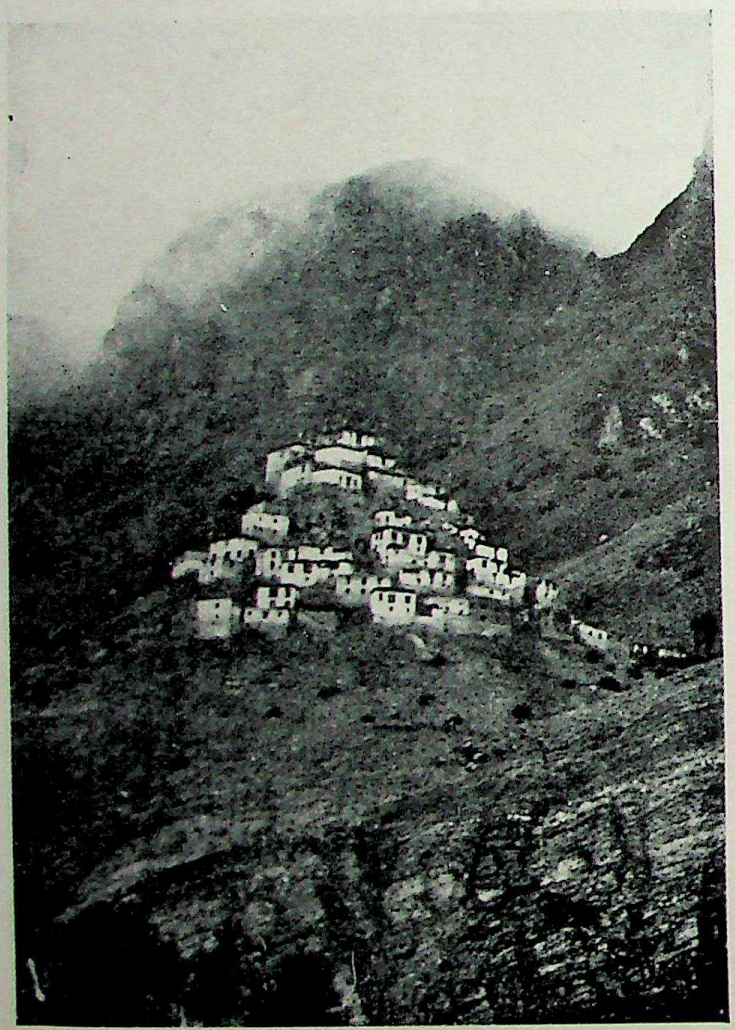
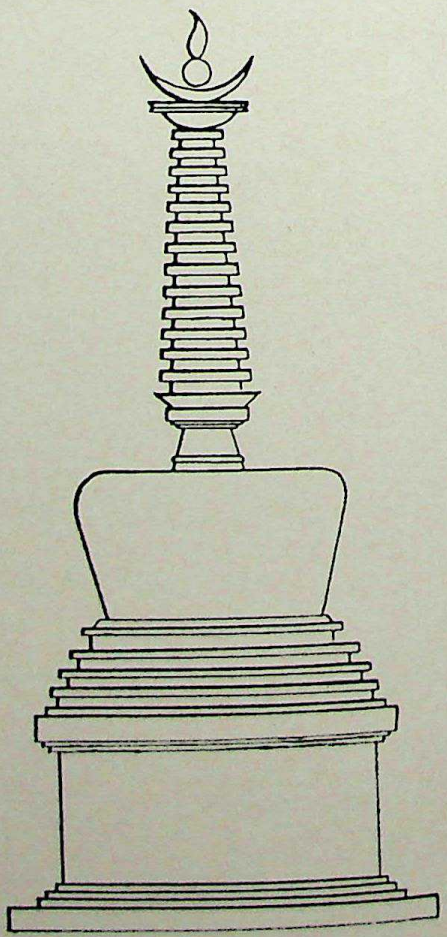
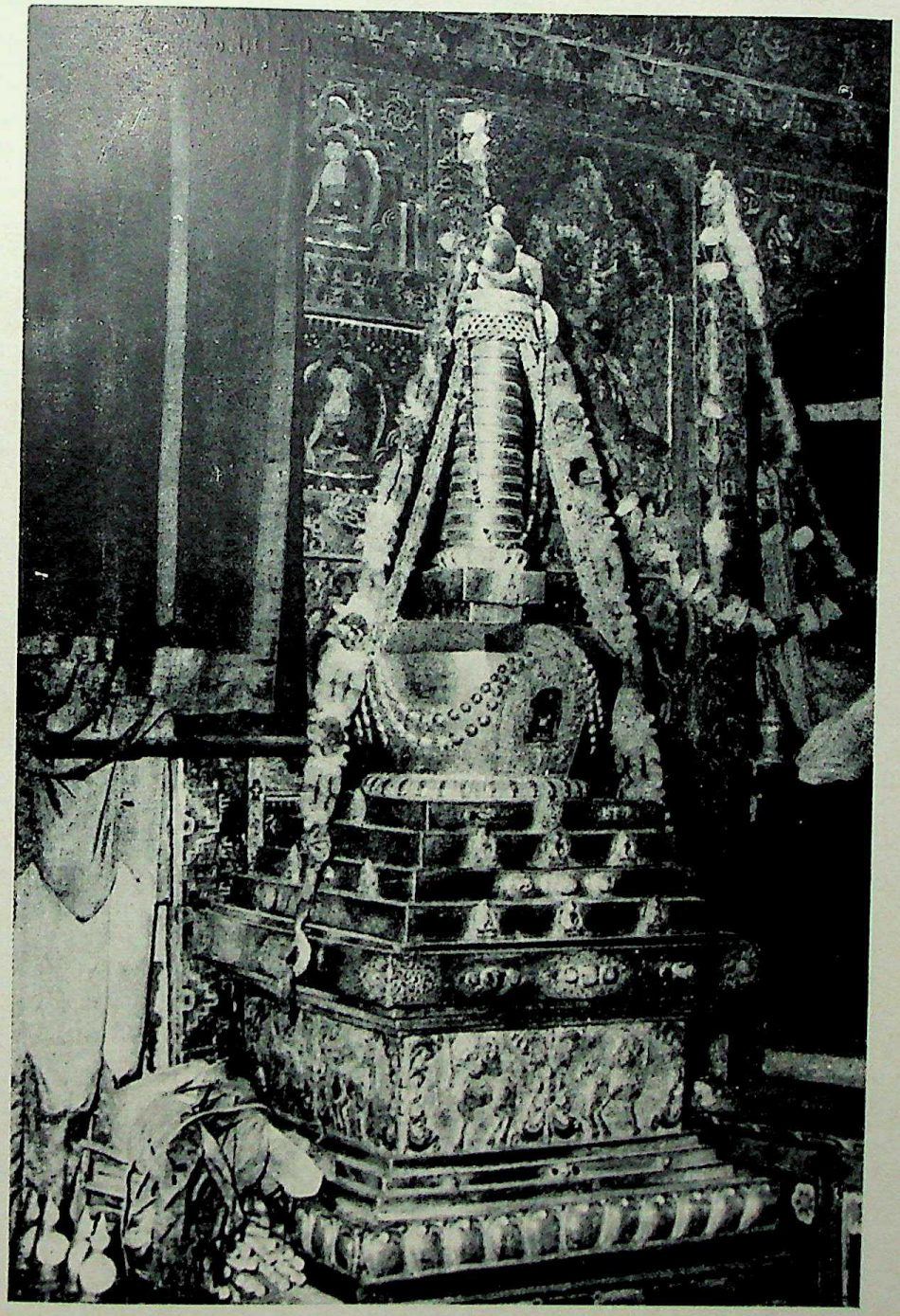


(a) Kye monastery,
V. Kye, Spiti.
Photo : O.C Handa.



(b) Chaitya (Tib : *Chorten*),
Sketch : O.C Handa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Miniature silver chorten inside *Du-khang* temple of Tabo monastery-complex,
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : K.L. Vaidya.

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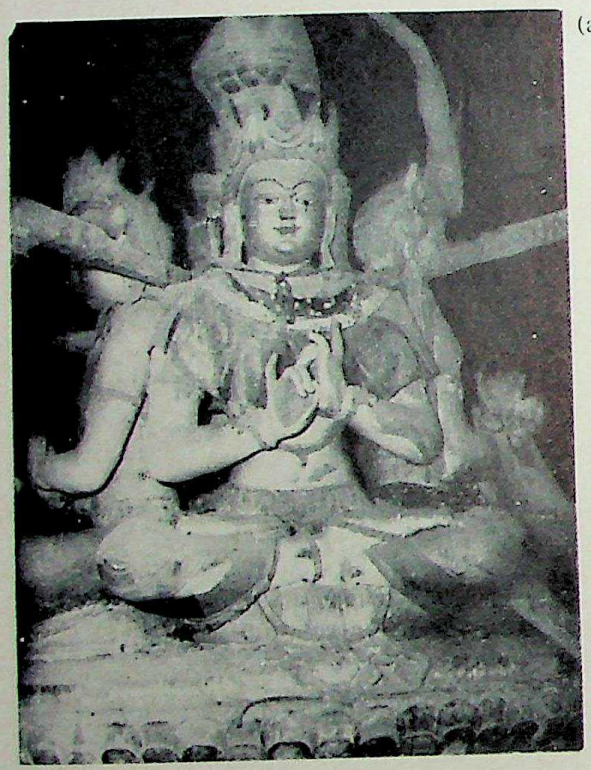
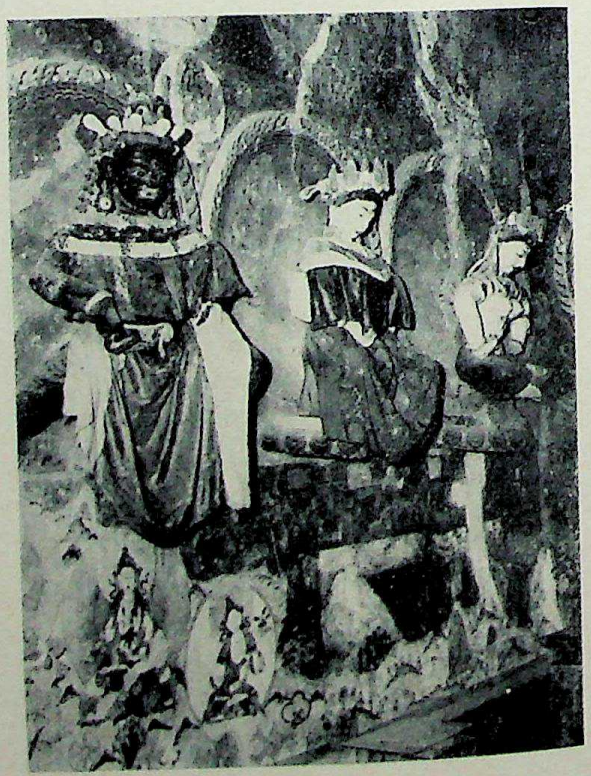


(a) Stucco image of four faced Vairochana at Tabo monastery, possibly the 11th century,
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : K.L. Vaidya.



(b) Stucco images on the walls of *Du-wang*—the central hall of the monastery,
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : K.L. Vaidya.

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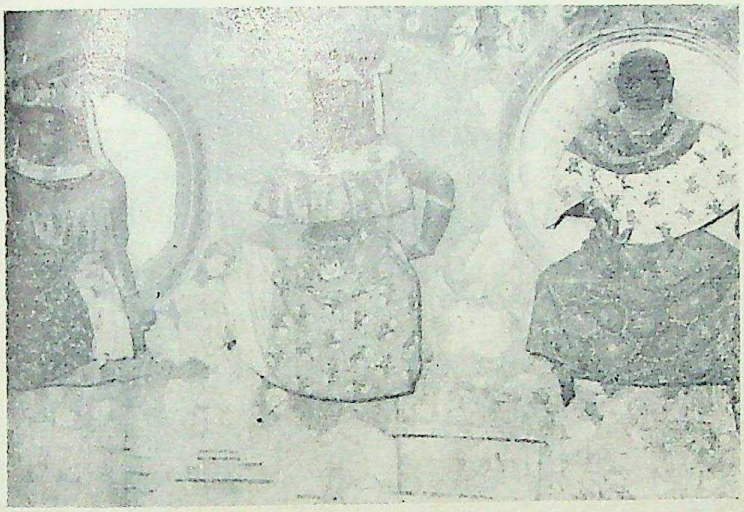
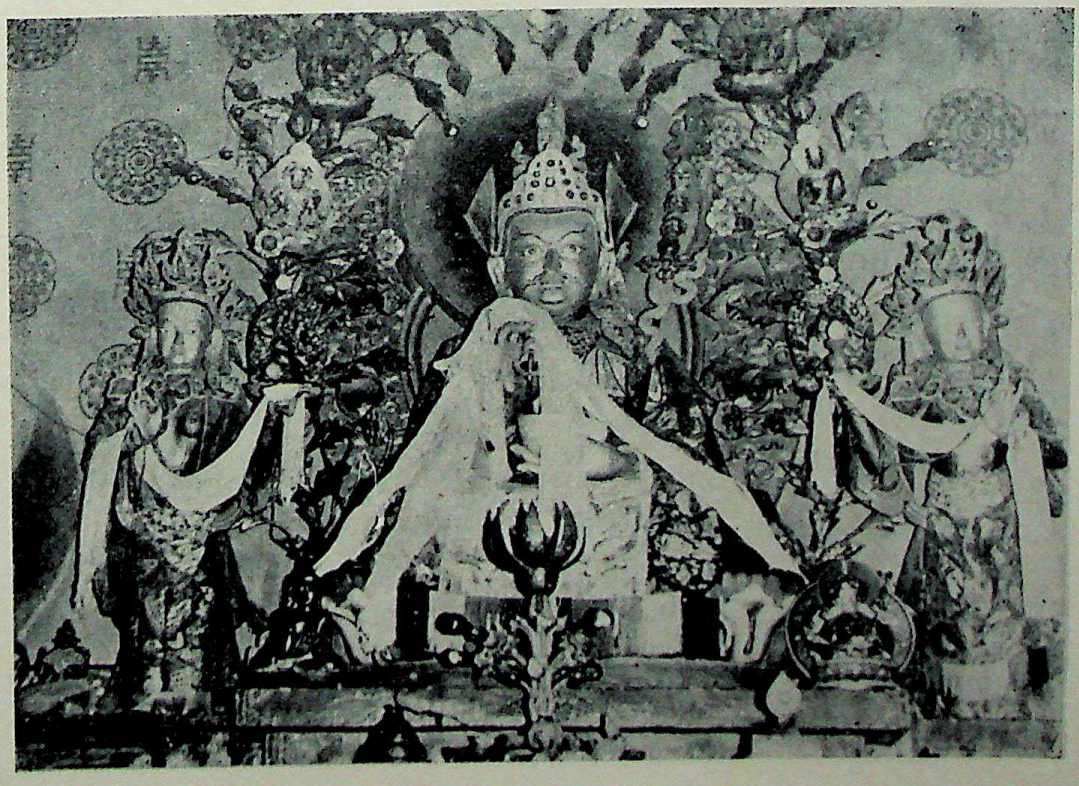


(a) Life size stucco male and female images in the Central hall of the *Du-wang* temple, C. 11th century.



(b) Stucco image of Padmasambhava. V. Rewalsar, Mandi. Photo : O.C. Handa.

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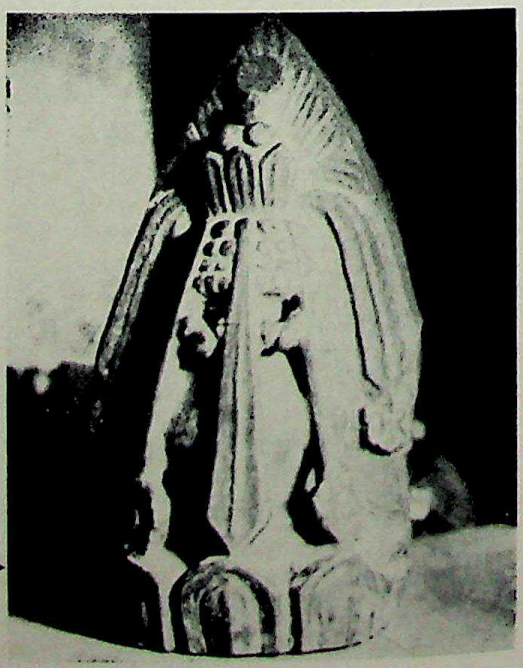
(a) Wooden image of Buddha Sakyamuni in *Bhumisparsamudra*, V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa. →

←(b) Sandal wood image of Dolma,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

(c) Wooden *Chhapum*, →
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



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(a) Brass image of Amitayus (Spt. *Chkepama*), V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

(b) Brass and copper image of Sadaksari Avalokiteshvara, V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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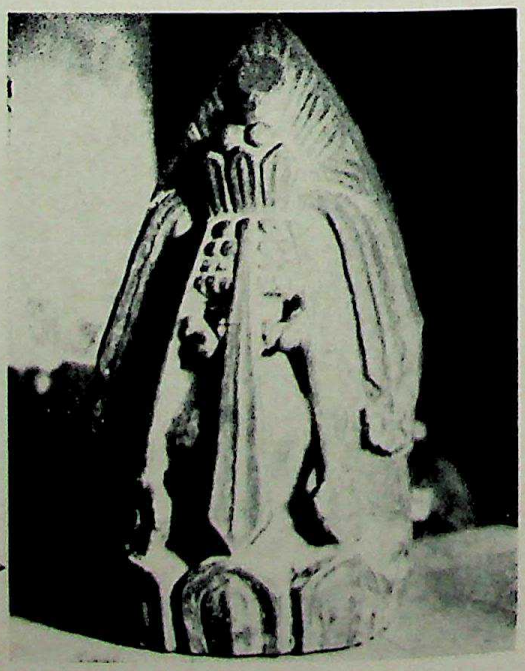

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

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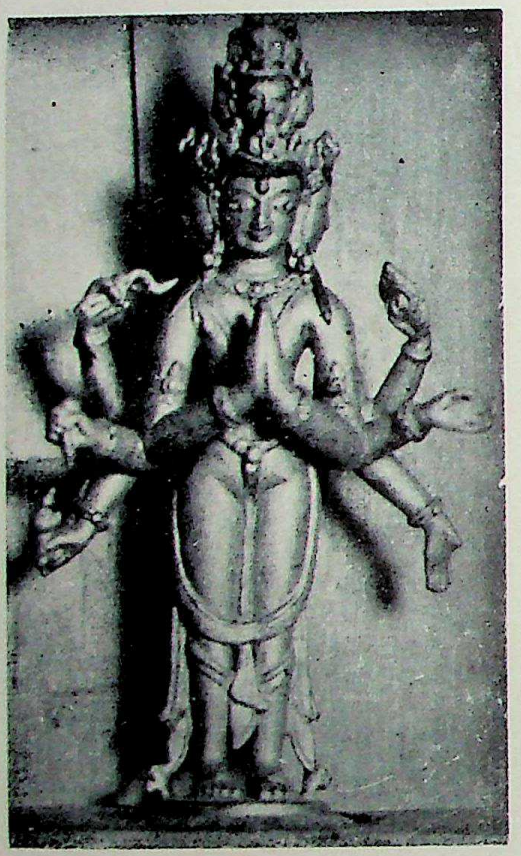
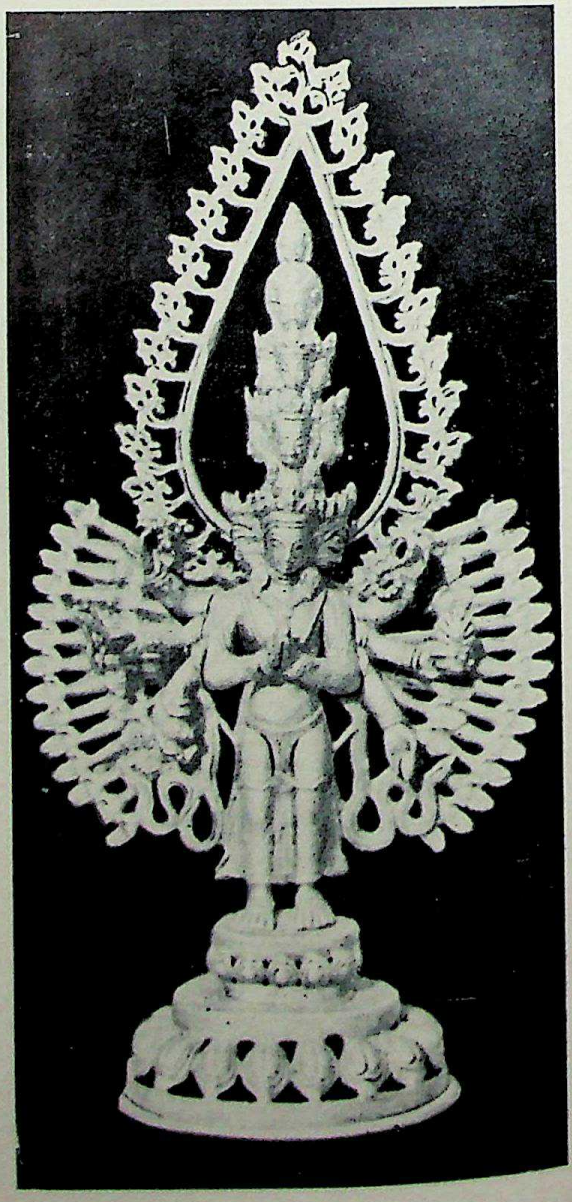


(a) Brass image of Avalokiteshvara,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Brass image of eleven headed Avalokiteshvara,
Author's Collection.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(a) Brass image of Manjushri,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

(b) Brass image of White Tara,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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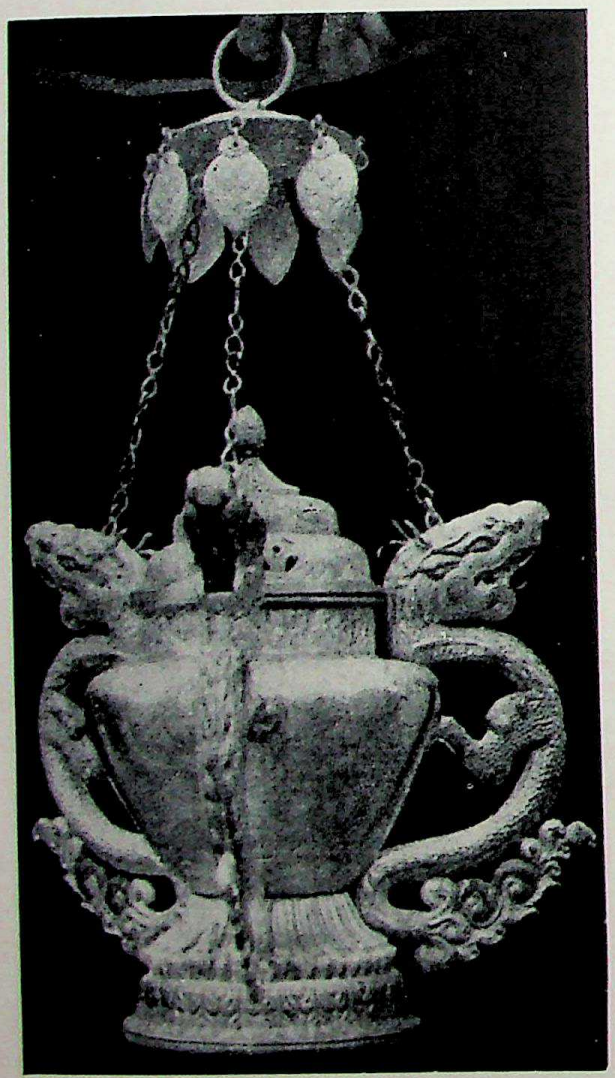
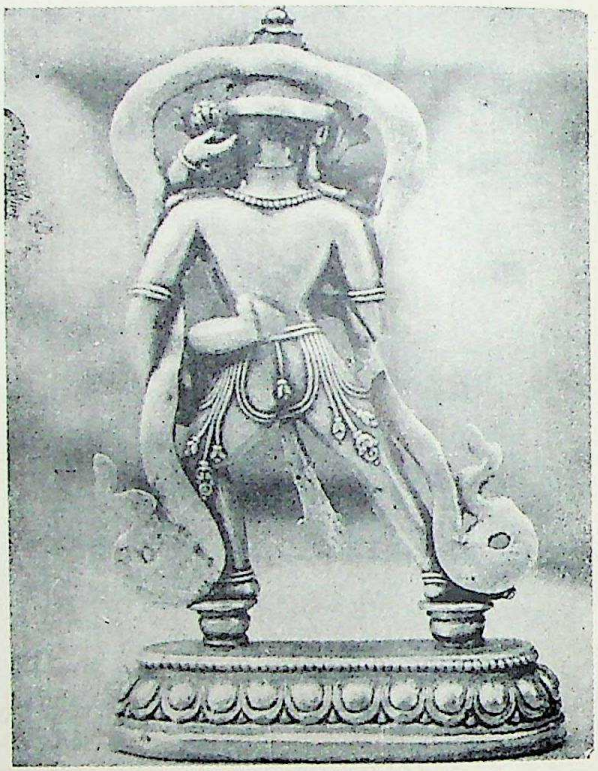
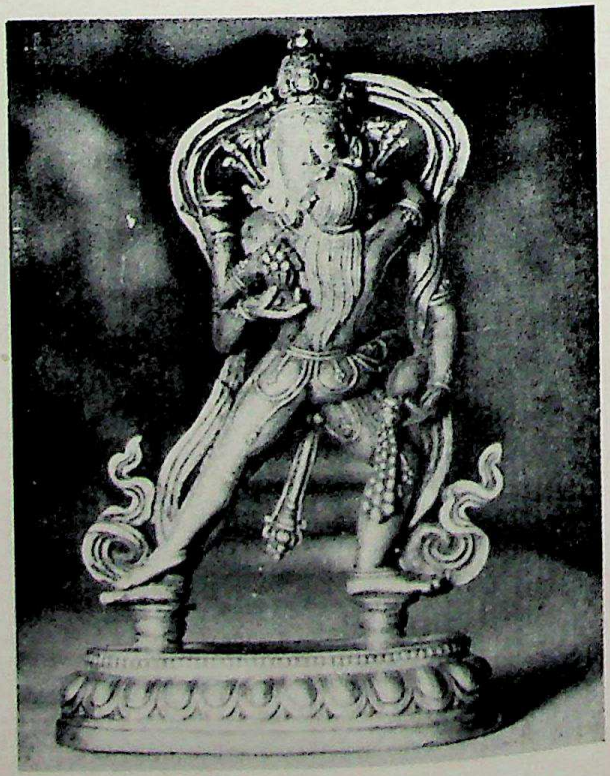


(a) Silver wares, Kinnaur.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.



(b & c) Silver image inlaid with gold of Hevajra,
V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



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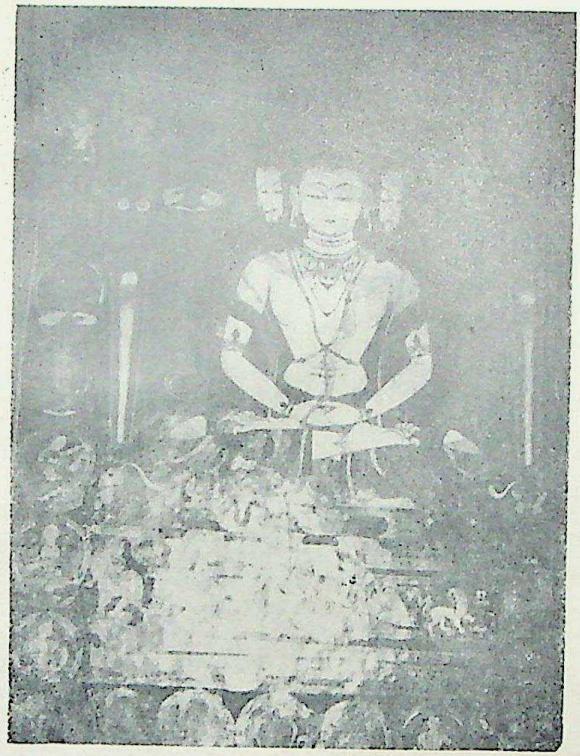
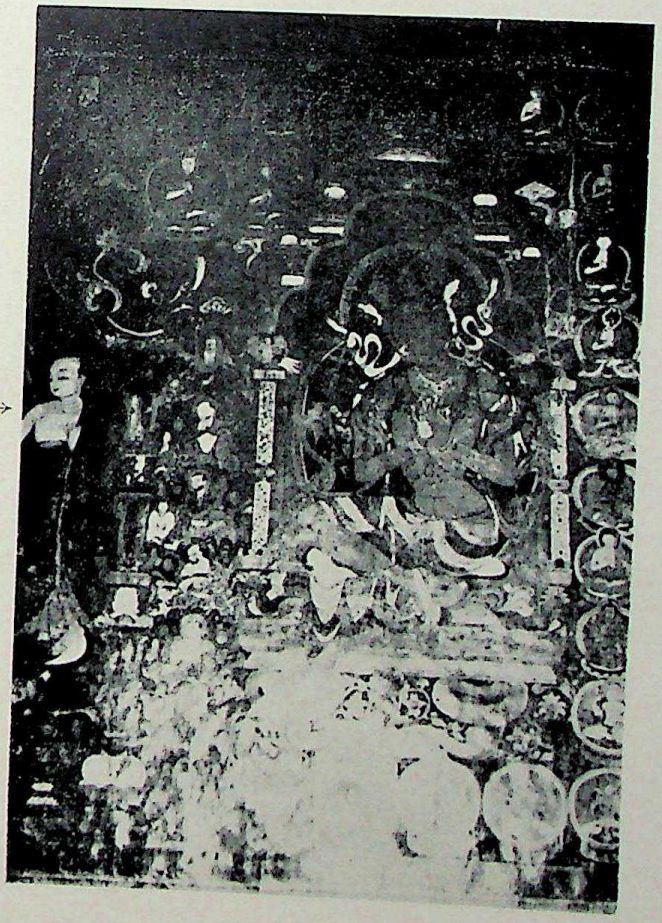


(a) Fresco-painting depicting four faced Vairochana on the North wall of *Ser-lang*, temple, Tabo monastery, (11th century),
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Fresco paiting depicting Bodhisattva, (11th century), → *Sed-lang* temple, Tabo Monastery.
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

← (c) Silver wares, Kinnaur.
Photo : H.P. Public Relations Deptt.

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(a) *Dor-rje-chang* (skr. Vajradhara), (11th century), *Ser-lang* temple, Tabo monastery,
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : K.L. Vaidya.

(b) Dharmapala (*Beg-tse*), god of war and protecter of horses, (11th century),
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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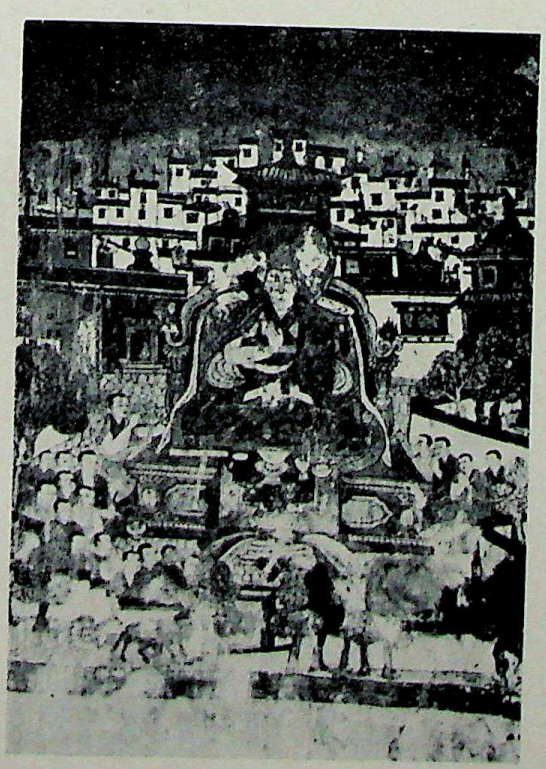
(a) Fresco paintings depicting various divinities of the Buddhist pantheon, (11th century),
Tabo Monastery,
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Fresco painting depicting a Lama from the lineage of *Tson-Kha-pa* (11th century), *Chhumba-Chumba*,
Tabo Monastery.
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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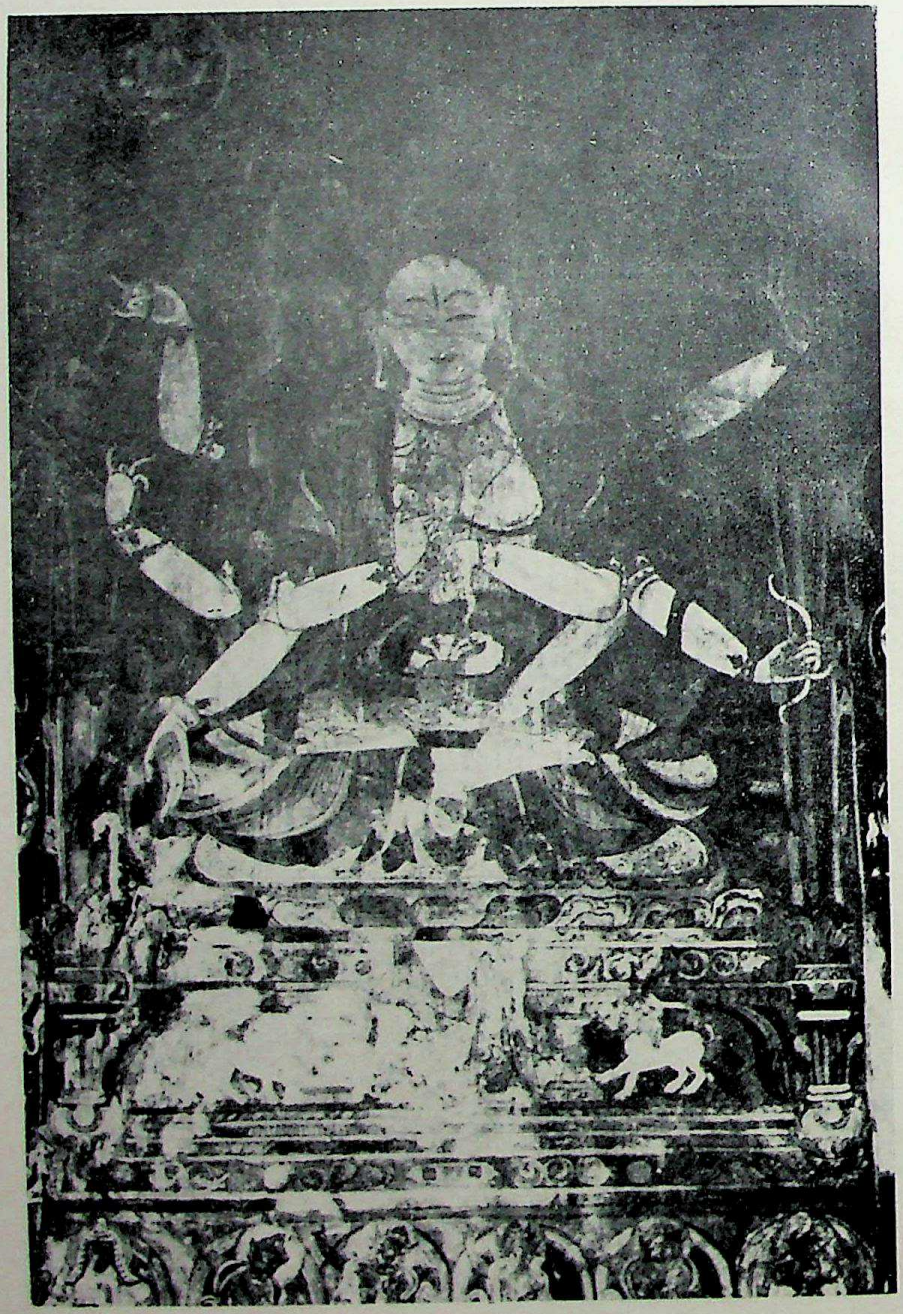

Fresco painting showing a deity with eight arms.
(11th century),
Ser-lang temple, Tao Monastery.
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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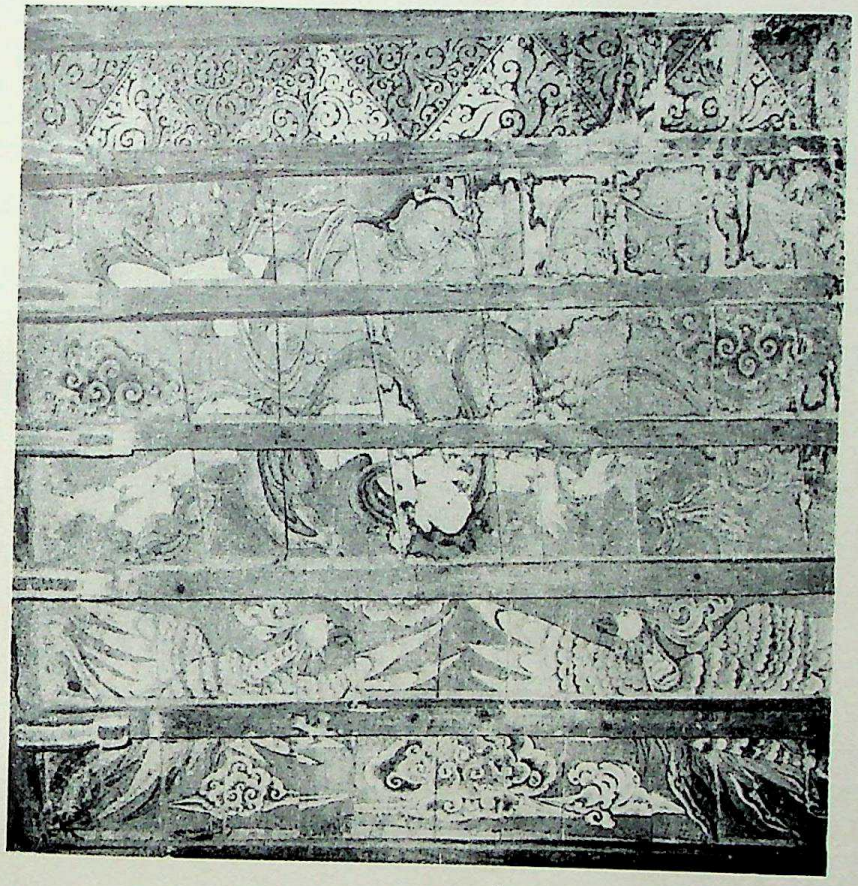

↑

(a) Decorated ceiling in *Chhumba-Chumba* at Tabo, (11th century) reproducing Kashmiri styles of that period. The Goddesses are clearly Indian inspired. The birds represent peacocks or even possibly the phoenix. This ancient ceiling suggests an Indian origin.
V. Tabo, Spiti.
Photo : K.L. Vaidya.

(b) →

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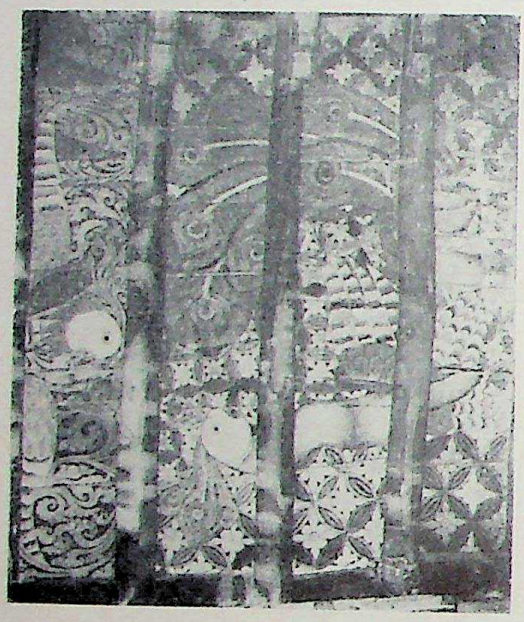

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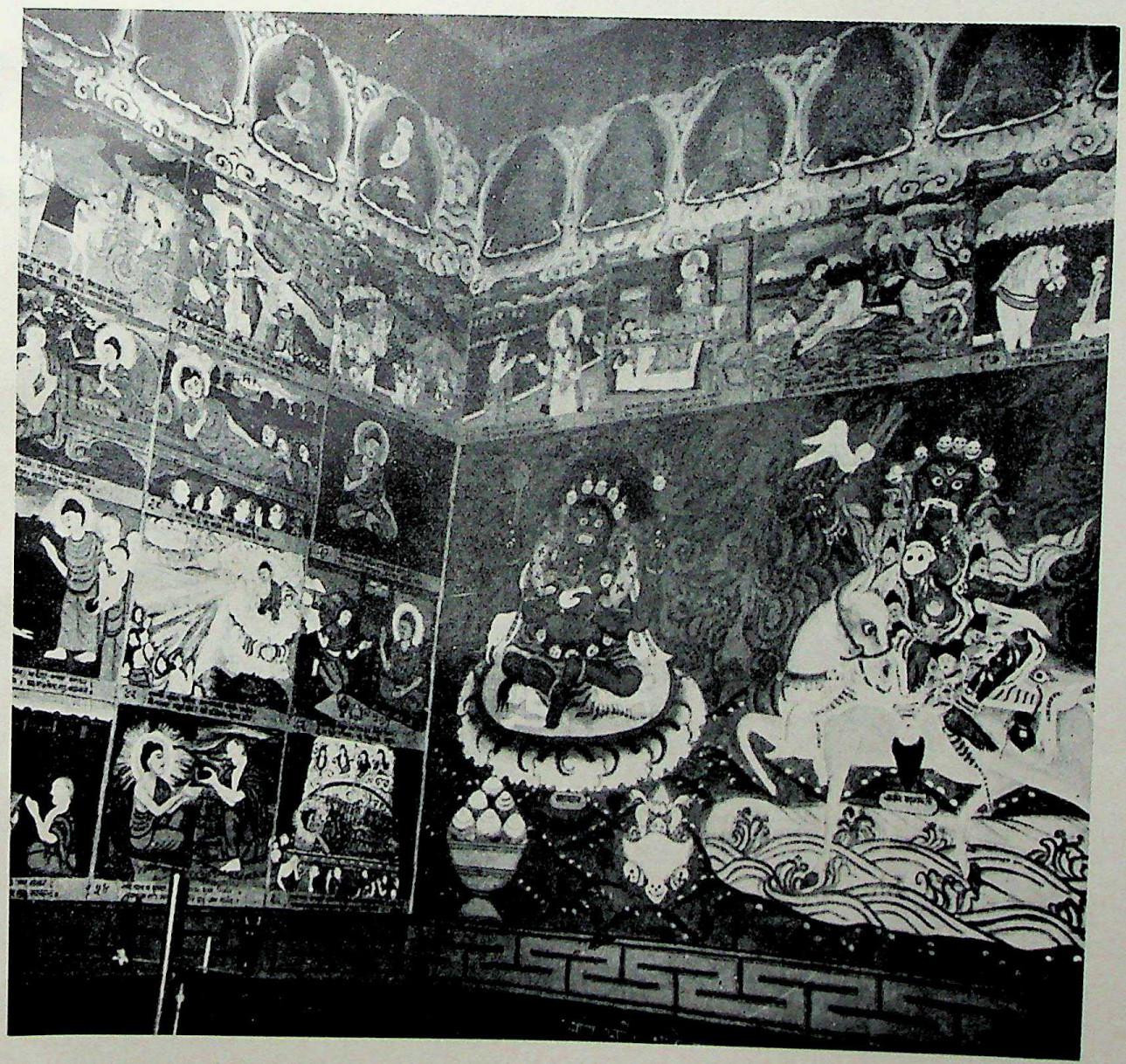

Fresco paintings in Rampur-Bashahr Palace depicting various divinities from Buddhist Pantheon,
Rampur-Bashahr, Simla Hills.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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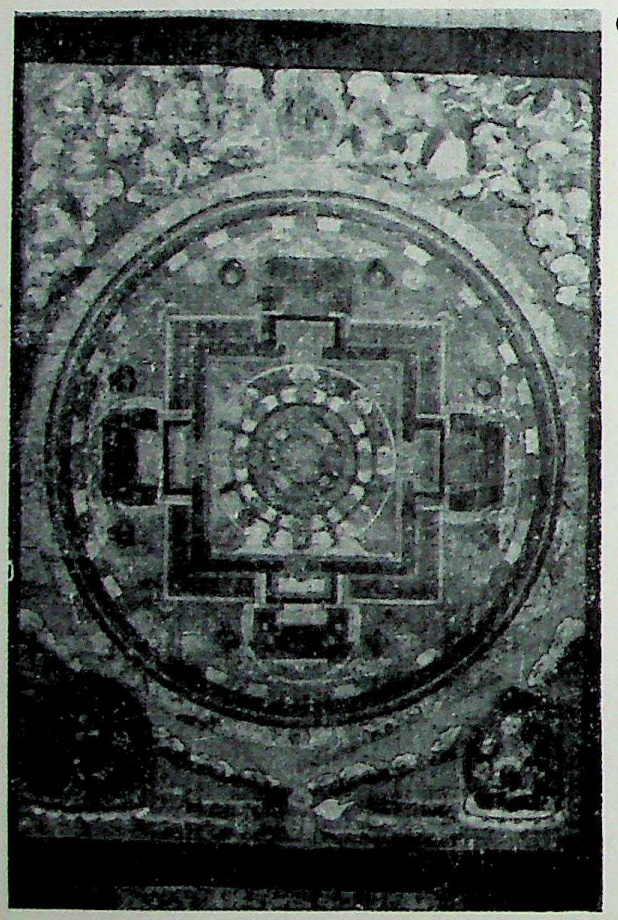
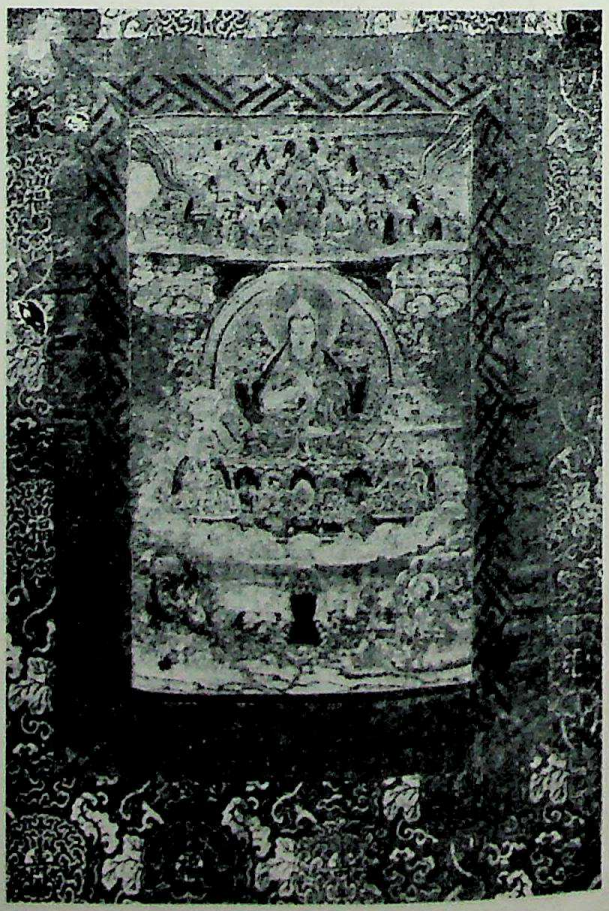


(a) Buddhist *Mandala* painting,
Private collection, V. Hansa, Spiti.
Photo : O. C. Handa.



(b) Embroidered Thanka depicting,
Tsong-Kha-pa and his two disciples,
Kye, Monastery, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.

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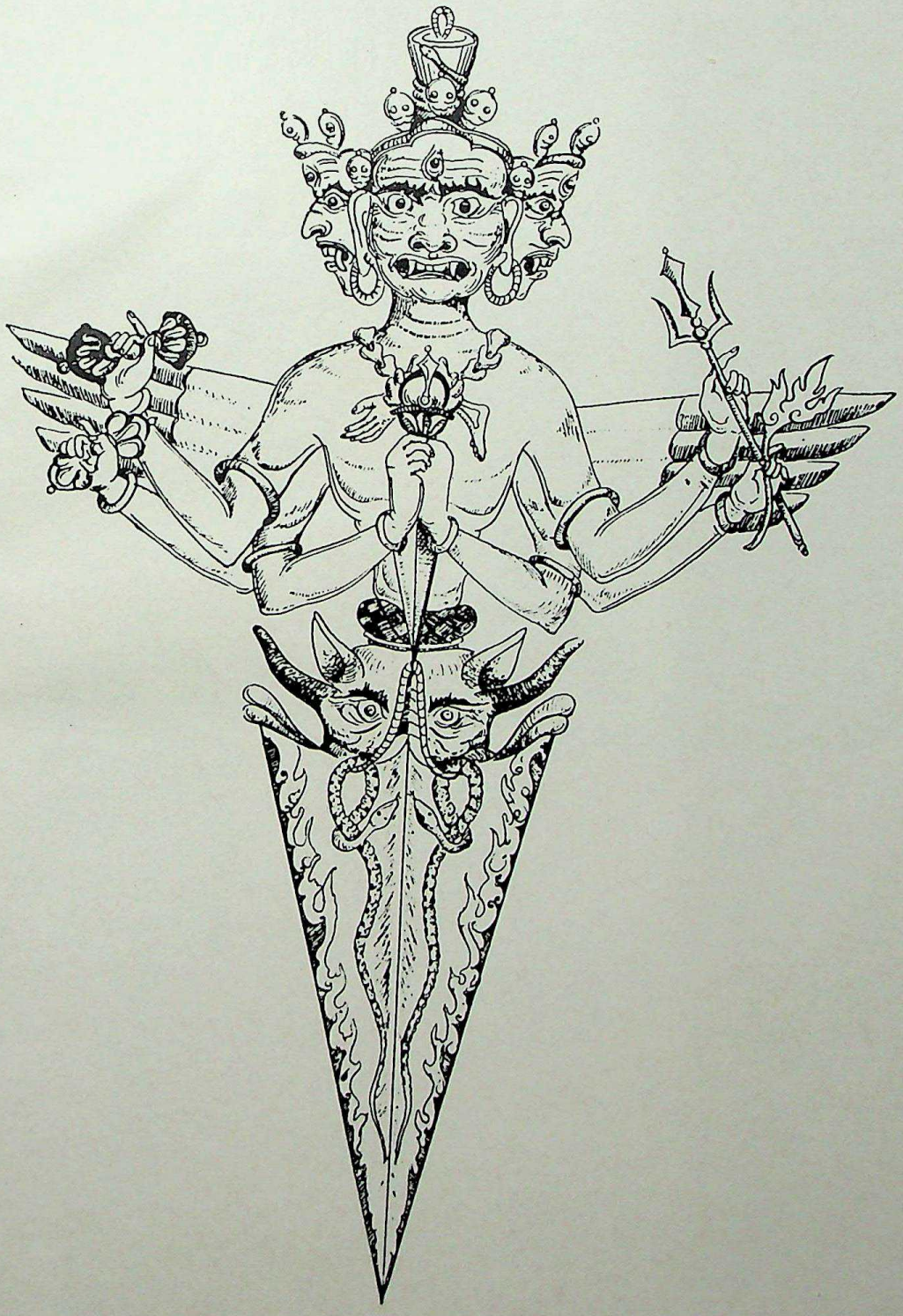

Phur-ba (magic dart) used especially for the ritualslaying of supposed enemy of the docitrine, human or divine,or in more philosophical terms, the demon of the self.
Sketch : O.C. Handa.

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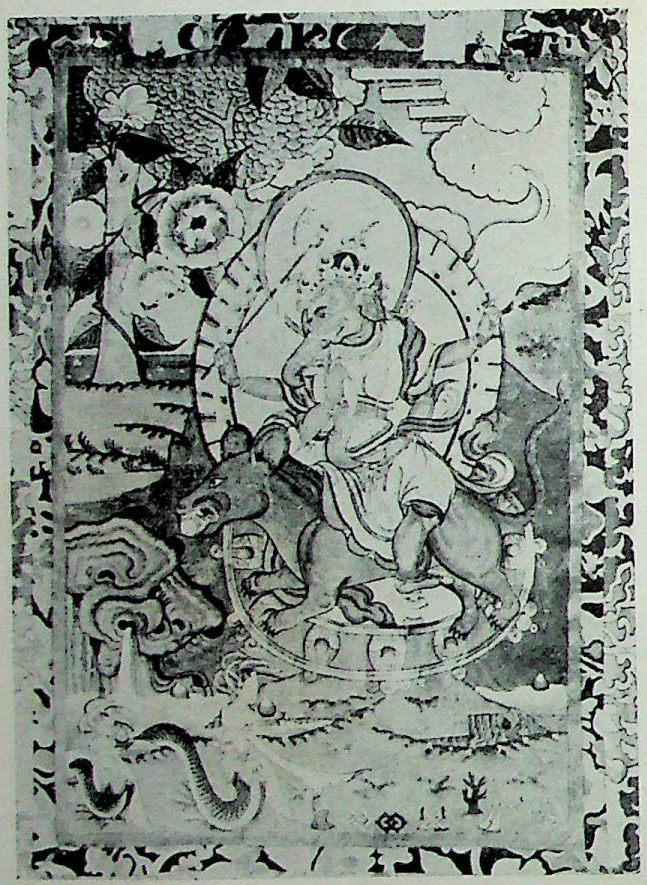
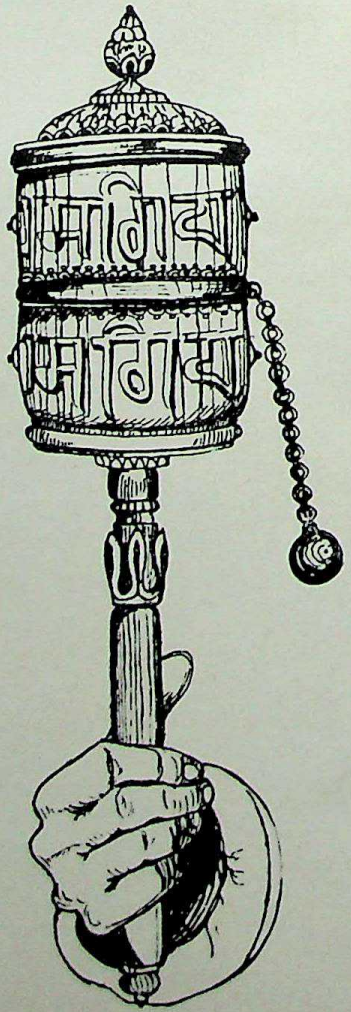


(a) Ganesha on his mount, a Thanka painting, Key Monstery, Spiti.
Photo : O.C. Handa.



(b) Prayer wheel (Tib : *Mani-Chho-Khar*), Sketch : O.C. Handa.

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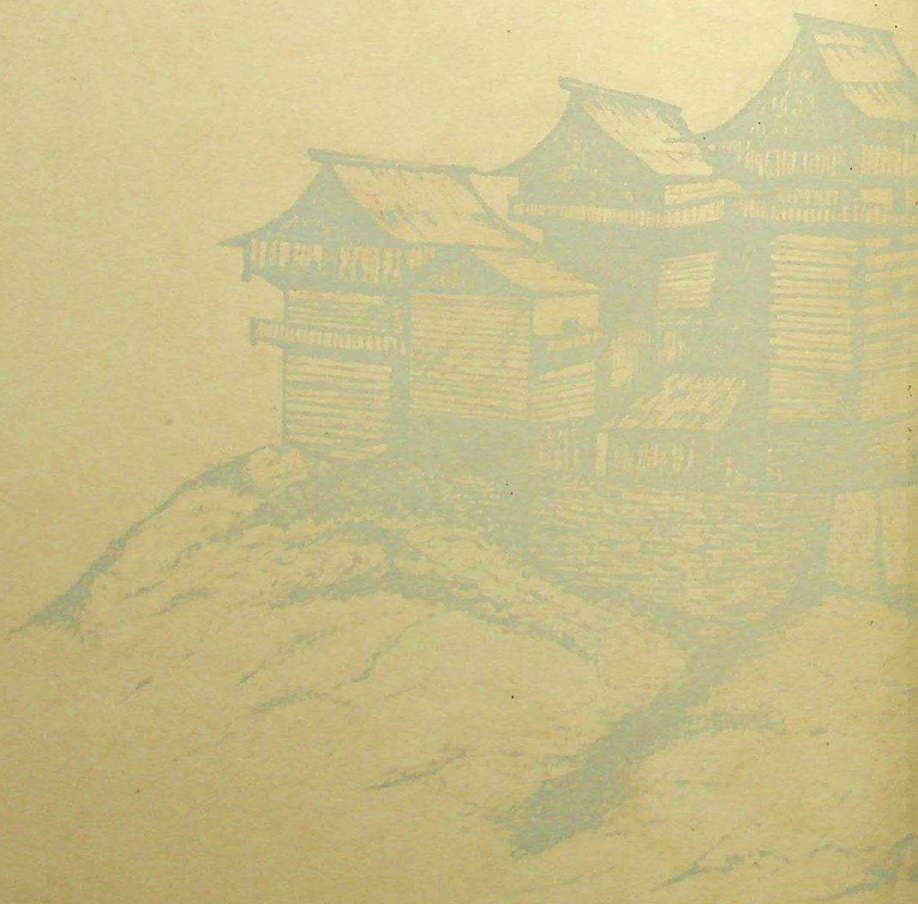

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